

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY



JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

with which is incorporated
The Society of Biblical Archaeology



Published by the Society
56 QUEEN ANNE STREET LONDON W1
1957

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LIMITED



PRINTERS, HERTFORD

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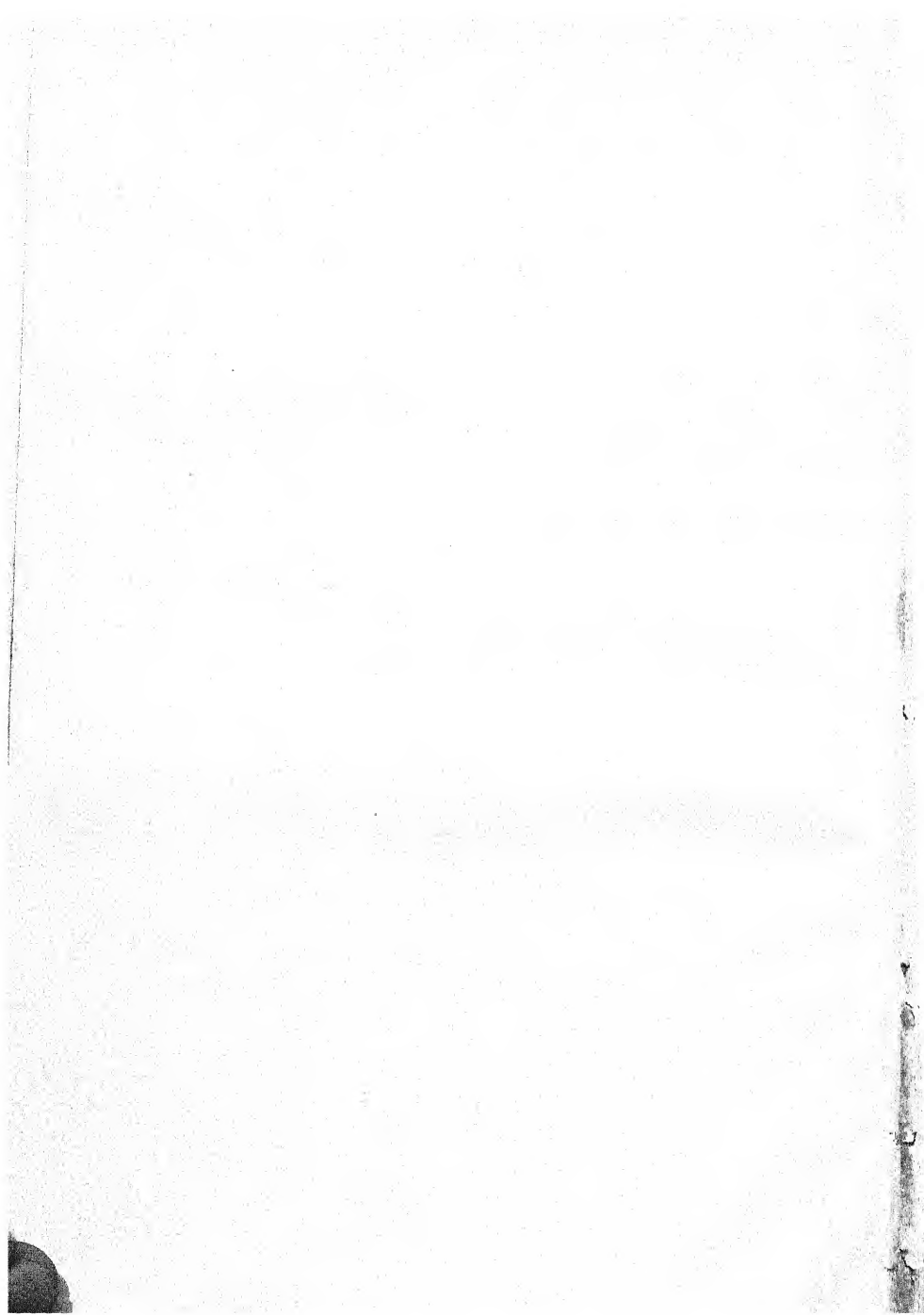
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FALSE PROPHETS AND OTHERS

BY A. S. TRITTON

IN SPITE OF MUḥammad's boast that he was the last of the prophets, many of his followers claimed to be prophets. As a rule little is known about these claimants but there are exceptions.

In 237/852 a muezzin in Tlemcen claimed to be a prophet and explained the Koran in his own way, many roughs following him. He forbade cutting the hair and nails, shaving the pubic hair and the use of ornaments, for "men must not change what God has created". The governor of the town put him in prison but he escaped to Spain where he had some success but was at last put to death though he said, "Do you kill me because I say that God is my Lord?" Another version makes him a teacher.¹

Also in North Africa (325/937) Ḥāmīm claimed to be a prophet and many Ghumāra followed him. He enjoined two prayers daily, at dawn and sunset, each of three *rak'a*; in prostration the hands were folded before the face. He gave his followers a Koran in their own Berber tongue to be recited after the words, "There is no god but God"; he instituted fasts on Monday and Thursday till noon, on Friday, on ten days in Ramaḍān and on two in Shawwāl. The penalty for breaking the fast on Thursday was three young camels and on Monday two bulls. Tithe had to be paid, there was no pilgrimage and no ablution after uncleanness. The flesh of sows was allowed (Muḥammad forbade only boars!) and fish only after ritual slaughter; eggs and the heads of animals were forbidden. A prayer ran: Deliver me from sins, Thou who without sight seest the world; take me away from sins, Thou who didst bring Jonah out of the belly of the fish and Moses out of the river. I believe in Ḥāmīm and Abū Yakhliḥ his companion; I believe in Tāliya the paternal aunt of Ḥāmīm. (Tāliya was a diviner and a sorceress.)²

A variant says that the fasts were till noon on Wednesday and on Thursday and for twenty-seven days in Ramaḍān. A festival followed the breaking of the fast and sucking kids were forbidden food. The sister of Ḥāmīm was also a diviner, her advice was asked in war and calamity; the aunt's name was Tābiqīt.

In the mountains of the Ghumāra a clever sorcerer, Abū Kīsa,

¹ Ibn abi Zar', *al-anīs*, 59. Ibn al-'Idhārī, *al-Bayān*, 2, 92.

² Ibn abi Zar', 62. Ibn al-'Idhārī, i, 198. *Jadhwat al-iqtibās*, 51.

appeared and obtained a following. Did anyone disobey or oppose him, he turned his clothes inside out and the recalcitrant was afflicted in his body or property or both.¹

In 295/908 Abū Ḥātim al-Zuṭṭī joined the followers of al-Būrānī as a preacher. He forbade them to eat garlic, onions, leeks, radishes, or to shed the blood of any animal; he bade them hold fast the teaching of al-Būrānī. Some say that Zakarwaih b. Mahrwaih is still alive as a substitute was killed.²

In Nairab near Sarmin a man named Abū Jawf (who could not hide his ignorance behind the fringed leather loincloth such as girls wear) appeared. He claimed to be a prophet and told laughable tales, his object being to create a touchstone. He said that a heap of cotton would not burn and told his son to put a light near it; it caught fire, women screamed and the neighbours rushed to quench the fire. One, who knew him said that he laughed much for no good reason, arguing that a man should rejoice for a trifle and much more for a great gift. He was clearly mad and the idle followed him. He denied the message of the prophets and the governor of Aleppo put him to death. This was after 386/996.³ In Basra one Shābās was acclaimed by many as the Lord of Might.⁴

In 418/1027 a man claimed to be a prophet but his person was seized and all his property confiscated.⁵

There is no evidence that this man called himself a prophet. In 516/1122 Barakāt corrupted the minds of certain men of the three schools formerly known as Badi'īya in the House of Knowledge so he was proscribed and the House closed by Afdal. Two *ustādh* of the palace hid Barakāt by introducing him into the palace as a slave girl they had bought. They supplied all his wants and at times his adherents visited him; but he fell ill and, as they dared not call in a doctor, died. They told the superintendent of the palace that an elderly woman had died, other women would wash her and escort her to the tomb of Nu'mān in Qarāfa; they also reported how many would go out and received the necessary permission. The two men washed the body, clad it in garments given by the adherents, including a *ṭailasān*, and followed the bier. When they

¹ *Jadhwat al-iqtibās*, 52.

² Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-hunafā*, 124.

³ *Risālat al-ghufrān*, 169.

⁴ *Risālat al-ghufrān*, 168. v. perhaps Ibn Hazm, *Fīṣal waniḥal*, 4, 187.

⁵ Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā*, 408.

had gone part of the way, they wanted to give him full honour so told the bearers that they were carrying a man, a student of theirs asking them to cry out as they would for a man. They gave them four dinars to keep the secret. The porters were pleased but when they went back to their employer, the undertaker, they told him and shared the money with him. He was afraid, knew that the business would not remain secret, so took the men to the governor and told him the tale. He took the money from them, put them in the cells and wrote a report. As soon as Ma'mūn b. Fātik saw the report he said, "It is Barakāt"; he ordered the two *ustādh* and the porters to be fetched, his adherents to be brought from prison and the grave opened in front of them. Those who cursed Barakāt were set free; five men and a boy were executed because they would not deny him. The two *ustādh* had fled.¹

In 570/1175 a man from the west claimed to be a prophet in a village near Damascus beguiling the people by tricks and specious words so crowds of peasants and country folk followed him. He resisted the people of Damascus but then fled by night to Aleppo where he again perverted the minds of the peasants by sleight of hand and other tricks. He taught these things to a woman and she called herself a prophetess.²

In Bukhārā (637/1240) a Persian sufi, Abu 'l-Karam al-Daranī, showed tricks by sleight of hand to the people; he would tell a man to shoot an arrow at him and the man's hand would be heavy so that he could not shoot. Many followed him, he called himself the Mahdī and caused a massacre of the Jews and Christians in the town and the plunder of their property. He claimed to be able to kill the Mongols without weapons. He killed the governor and garrison of Bukhārā and his following grew. The Mongols advanced on the town so Abu 'l-Karam marched out against them unarmed and they withdrew. But one of their leaders said, "Either I shall kill him and the army will destroy them utterly or I shall be slain"; he killed Abu 'l-Karam and the troops slew his followers, it is said 60,000, except a few.³

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-raḥīm al-Bājabaqī (born 676/1277) was taken by his father, a learned professor, to Damascus in 680/1281 where he heard famous teachers and studied in earnest; afterwards he became an ascetic, associated with sufis and fell into ecstasies

¹ Maqrizī, *Khiṭat*, i, 459.

² *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn*, i, 251.

³ Ibn al-Fūṭī, *Al-ḥawādith al-jāmi'a*, 127.

whereupon he became an object of veneration and had many followers. He encouraged them to abandon religious exercises and showed them marvels; even a great scholar in spite of his learning joined him and published his belief in him. The leading physician told this tale. I visited Bājabaqī in a garden of his. He said that he wanted a nap, called the gardener and told him to talk to me so he began to talk about medicine, both principles and applications, simple drugs and treatment, matters which only experts know. Bājabaqī woke up and the gardener stopped talking. In answer to a question the gardener said that he did not know what he had been saying, he knew only that something had run off his tongue.

Another scholar stayed with him and on the third day was asked what he had seen; "I ascended to the fourth heaven"; "That is the place of Idris." The scholar came to himself and in the presence of the Mālikī judge repented and renewed his profession of Islam. In 704/1305 a conclave of scholars decreed that Bājabaqī was worthy of death but many, led by his brother, took his part and hid him till, some years later, the Ḥanbalī judge pronounced him innocent because the witnesses against him had been his enemies. He was accused of despising the prayers (the canonical religious observances), of uttering the name of the prophet without a benediction, of saying "Who is this Muḥammad of yours?" and that prophets made the path to God long. The Mālikī judge again condemned him so he went to Egypt and lived retired in al-Azhar. He was again accused, returned to Damascus and lived in Qābūn till his death, 724/1324. No Muslim could despise religion as he did; he claimed to have spoken with Ibn al-'Arabī and was angry when asked if he had dreamed this.¹

In 741/1340 'Uthmān the *zindīq* was executed in Damascus for heresy and following Bājabaqī; such heresy had never been heard of before.²

Near Ḥilla, 683/1284, Abū Ṣāliḥ claimed to be the deputy of the Lord of the Age with the duty of announcing his speedy coming. He plundered villages near Wāsiṭ and then went to Ḥilla and called on the governor to join him. The governor sent his son with soldiers against him but many of them with their commander were killed and the rest ran away. Baghdad was then notified and the governor led out his troops. Abū Ṣāliḥ killed the sufis and the pious in the tomb

¹ *Al-durar al-kāmina*, 4, 12. *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6, 64.

² Abu 'l-Fidā, *History* (Egypt, 1325), 4, 133.

of shaiikh Ibn Baqlī in Qūsān and sacked the village but was surrounded by the troops from Baghdad and was killed with most of his followers.¹

In 701/1302 Aḥmad al-Thaqafī was put to death in Cairo for disparaging the Koran and the prophet, allowing what was forbidden and treating the articles of faith lightly. He had an acute mind, was learned in literature and the ancient disciplines but said some foolish things. "Had Ḥarīrī had any luck, the assemblies would have been recited in the *miḥrāb*." He accused his judges of ignorance. He wrote :

May God destroy hashish and those who eat it ; it is bad as wine is good. As it provokes desire, so it weakens and makes miserable those who eat it and the end is perversion. The least of the disease—and it is grave—is desire or madness or aridity.²

Najm Khallikān claimed to be a prophet and made other claims which would have justified putting him to death but the judge inclined to mercy and he was allowed to repent.³

The orthodoxy of Muḥammad b. Sharīf was suspect and grave offences were laid to his charge.⁴

In 715/1315 Aḥmad al-Ru'ais was executed in Damascus for allowing what was forbidden and setting up as a prophet. He had revelations, told the unknown, ate hashish, and neglected prayer. He led astray the ignorant saying, "the prophet came to me and told me." ⁵

In 717/1317 a mahdī appeared in Jabala, followed by Nusairis and ignorant folk ; at different times he claimed to be Muḥammad, 'Alī and the expected Mahdī, proclaiming that Muslims were unbelievers and the true religion that of the Nuṣairis. They cried out, "There is no god but 'Alī, no veil but Muḥammad, and no door but Salmān," they cursed Abū Bekr and 'Umar, brought Muslims to their chief and said to them, "Worship your God." Troops from Tripoli killed the leader and scattered his followers.⁶

In 737/1337 al-Ḥajjār was executed and burnt in Ḥamā ; he had led many astray.⁷

In 824/1421 an Arab of Upper Egypt claimed to be a prophet,

¹ Ibn al-Fūṭī, 440.

² *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6, 2. Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, i, 925.

³ *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6, 14.

⁴ *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6, 27.

⁵ *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6, 35.

⁶ Abu 'l-Fidā, 4, 83. *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6, 43.

⁷ *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6, 114.

asserting that Fāṭima had appeared to him and told him on her father's authority that he was sent by God. He started a rebellion, but was captured, flogged, and recanted.¹

Yaḥyā b. 'Isā, a negro, went to Egypt to study but fell a victim to heresy for which he was flogged. He went to Kerak where he wrote heretical broadsheets some of which he sent to a learned man in 'Ajlūn. He was invited to 'Ajlūn and flogged so he went back to Kerak. The townsfolk were disgusted with him and advised him to get a learned man from Damascus to write up his beliefs. Previously he had written to Shams al-dīn al-Maidānī asking him to be his helper and wazīr; al-Maidānī thought him mad but kept his letters. Yaḥyā then went to Damascus and got a following of ignorant folk who could not distinguish truth from falsehood, and wrote confused, nonsensical pages, neither rhyme nor reason, and often sheer blasphemy. Such as, "He mounted to the throne and saw God, above Him he saw one greater and below Him yet another." He said that Khidr was wrong in sinking the ship and his critic was even more ignorant. He held a meeting in the great mosque on 4th November, 1018, to preach his doctrines so the chief judge had him put in hospital. Al-Maidānī showed the judge letters, one which belittled the prophet and abused the learned and another of six or seven quires which attacked religion, said there was no creator and that prophets were ignorant, and in places taught incarnation, the unification of man with God, community of goods and transmigration of souls. It also said that God was not all-powerful and denied His goodness. The learned sent a deputation to the judge asking him to destroy such heresy; he welcomed them as he felt himself in a difficulty. He had put the negro in hospital as he had feared a rescue by the mob if he put him in prison; it was reported that some leaders of the army believed in Yaḥyā and the judge had feared that the scholars would not support him. This doubt was now removed so he sentenced the man to death and requested the viceroy to have the sentence carried out. The viceroy wished to have the prisoner paraded through the city first but the judge objected and he was put to death in the yard of the courthouse 8th Dhu 'l-Qa'da, 1018/3rd February, 1610.²

People were very credulous. A party of Kurds in 453/1061 came across some black tents and heard a voice saying that Saidūk,

¹ *Al-ḥaw' al-lāmi'*, 4, 91.

² Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-aiḥar*, 4, 478.

the king of the djinn, was dead and that those who would not lament would be blotted out. The weak-minded lamented in the cemeteries.¹

In 646/1248 complaints of the throat were common in Baghdad and many died. A woman dreamed that a female djinn, Umm 'Unqūd, told her that her son had died in a well in the sultan's bazaar and no one had condoled with her so she throttled the townsfolk. A crowd, men, women, and boys, pitched a tent beside the well for visits of condolence and wailing. They sang :

Umm 'Unqūd, forgive us ; 'Unqūd died and we knew it not,
when we knew, we all came ; be not wrath so as to kill us ;
and similar nonsense. They threw into the well clothes, ornaments, coins, bread, cooked meats, fowls, and sweets, and lighted lamps beside it. Sensible men and important persons complained to the caliph so the scandal was stopped and the well filled up.²

It is not surprising that accusations of infidelity were common. In 744/1343 a man was executed in Damascus for cursing the Companions, slandering 'A'isha and doubting Gabriel.³

In 787/1385 Muḥammad b. Makkī was executed in Damascus ; he was of the Shī'a and was accused of heresy, of believing the Nuṣairi faith and allowing wine. His companion, 'Arafa, was put to death in Tripoli.⁴ In the following year Michael, who had been a Christian, was made superintendent of Alexandria but was executed three months later, forty-nine witnesses swearing that he was a freethinker.⁵

A teacher announced that he would tell his hearers what they had never heard before ; objection was taken to some statement so a party formed against him and declared him an unbeliever. He appealed to a scholar, apparently 'Umar b. Ishāq al-Hindī, who had appointed him deputy judge, and he pronounced him orthodox. Later when listening to a lecture by al-Hindī, he called out, " this is unbelief " ; al-Hindī said, " Do you call an unbeliever him who pronounced you orthodox ? " putting him to shame.⁶

In popular belief supernatural power and madness were allied. Sulaimān the Turkmen (eighth century) sat in the gutter with dogs round him and in a dirty cloak visited at night the basketmakers. He did not speak much, had revelations and experiences like those of diviners ; men believed in him implicitly. Even Ibrāhīm of Raqqa

¹ Ibn al-sā'i, *Mukhtaṣar akhbār al-khulafā*, 92.

² Ibn al-Fūṭī, 225.

³ Abu 'l-Fidā, 4, 141.

⁴ *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6, 294.

⁵ *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6, 306.

⁶ *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6, 279.

respected him and sat with him though he did not fast in Ramaḍān, did not pray and made no show of religion. Some said that he was not mad but only pretended.¹

Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj Jamāl al-majdhūb (†1039/1630) lived in Aleppo and went at times to the *dhikr* of Muḥammad al-Kawākibī; then divine enthusiasm descended upon him and he dwelt on the 'ascents' of patience, poverty, dirt and lice; he ate filth which dogs disdained, indeed, at first he ate dead dogs and raw "offal". He did not wash his clothes so they grew very dirty and he put new patches on them till he seemed to wear many garments. Then he took them off, put them on his back and put on a new garment. Should you try to persuade him to cut his hair, or go into a house or any private place, you would attempt the impossible. He lived somewhere in the great mosque. He put food in a pot, poured water on it and steeped bread in it till it was bitter and full of weevils; then if cooked meat or other food was given him, he added this water and bread to it and ate it as if it were the most tasty dish though no one else could have touched it. If he had good food, he invited us to eat it. Sometimes he made the ablution before prayer, sometimes not and sometimes he did not pray. He fasted in Ramaḍān but drank water if it was very hot. If anyone gave him a present, he repeated the *fātiḥa* till the giver was bored; if anyone asked his prayers, he employed the spiritual power of the *fātiḥa*; he worked many miracles. He stayed awake half the night reciting Yā Sīn and singing in the local dialect.²

Unusual behaviour was often thought worthy of notice. Early in the seventh century Muḥammad b. Yūnus was head of the Haidarī Qalanders; he shaved his head and beard and then went to Egypt where the judge of Damiette followed his example.³ In Damascus before the capture of the city by Timur a certain Abū Bekr had turned to religion and avoided men and women, devoting himself to study. After the capture his devoutness and avoidance of society increased. He gained a following and became famous, refusing to talk with people, especially those who wanted something from him. He spoke freely against rulers and judges and his asceticism became proverbial; he built a *ribāt* inside the Little Gate, the populace helping with labour and money.⁴

Muḥammad b. 'Abdullah al-Jazirī thought to revive the teaching

¹ *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 6, 33.

² B.M. Or. 3035, f. 68a.

³ B.M. Or. 3618, f. 35b.

⁴ B.M. Add. 7356, f. 145b.

of Ibn Tumart, alleging that his followers had perverted it. People believed that this Muḥammad could take the form of a cat or dog so they threw stones at these animals. At last his head was sent to Marrakesh.¹ A man wearing a flowing dervish robe was brought to Ibn Taimiya. He gave orders to cut the cloak short, to shave the man's head, trim his moustache, and cut his nails to a decent length; he then called on him to repent of foul language, taking drugs and eating forbidden food.² It is evident that would-be prophets had little imagination; they were only servile imitators.

¹ Ibn Sa'id, *Al-mughrib* (ed. Shawqi Daif), 233.

² Ibn Kathīr, *History*, 14, 33.

THE PARTHIAN *GŌSĀN* AND IRANIAN MINSTREL TRADITION

By MARY BOYCE

- (i) The Parthian *gōsān*; (ii) Professional minstrelsy at other epochs; (iii) Non-professional minstrelsy; (iv) The loss of Iranian minstrel-poetry.

(i) THE PARTHIAN *gōsān*

THE WORD *gōsān* is known to occur twice in Persian literature. One passage is in the poem *Viš u Rāmīn*, now shown to be of Parthian origin.¹ Here, while the king Mōbad is feasting with his wife and his brother Rāmīn, a *gōsān-i navāgar* sings to them. His song is of a lofty tree, shading the whole earth. Beneath it is a sparkling spring, with sand in its sweet water. A bull of Gilān grazes by it, drinking the water and eating the blossoms at its brink. "May this tree continue to cast its shade," ends the *gōsān*, "the water ever flowing from the spring, the bull of Gilān ever grazing at it!"² His pretty song was well calculated, however, to frustrate this pious wish; for it was in fact a dangerous and provocative allegory, the tree representing Mōbad himself, the spring his wife Viš, and the bull his brother Rāmīn, the queen's lover. This meaning the king instantly divined; but his rage flared up, not against the *gōsān*, but against his brother, on whom he sprang to kill him.

The word *gōsān* occurs twice in this passage, the second time with the epithet *nav-ā'm*.³ On the internal evidence it could be interpreted either as a common noun or as a proper name. Patkanow⁴ took it, undoubtedly correctly, as the former, explaining it as a word, meaning perhaps "musician", obsolete in classical Persian, from which Armenian *gusan* had been derived. He read it as *kusan*; but von Stackelberg⁵ suggested reading instead

¹ See V. Minorsky, "Viš u Rāmīn, a Parthian romance," i, *BSOAS*, xi (1946), pp. 741-764; ii, *ibid.* xii (1947), pp. 20-5; iii, *ibid.* xvi (1954), pp. 91-2; W. B. Henning, "The Monuments and Inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak," *Asia Major*, n.s., ii (1952), p. 178, n. 2.

² *Viš u Rāmīn*, ed. Muḡtaba Minovi, Tehran, 1314/1935, pp. 293¹⁵-4⁵.

³ Minovi, p. 293^{12, 15}; in the edition of W. Nassau Lees (Calcutta, 1865), the word occurs a third time (p. 219¹⁰).

⁴ See R. von Stackelberg, "Lexicalisches aus 'Wiš o Rāmīn'," *ZDMG.*, 48 (1894), p. 495.

⁵ *loc. cit.*, pp. 495-6. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik* (1897), p. 131, persisted in reading the word with *k*, and in separating it therefore from Armenian *gusan*.

gōsān, and pointed out that Georgian *mgosani* was probably also derived from it.

Subsequently H. W. Bailey¹ brought to light another occurrence of the word in the following passage of the *Muǰmal at-Tavārīx*:

"(Bahrām Gōr) inquired ever of the state of the world, and found none with any pain or distress, except that men used to drink their wine without minstrels (*rāmišgar*). Therefore he bade write to the king of the Indians, and asked of him *gōsān*; and in the Pahlavi language *gōsān* means 'minstrel' (*xunīyāgar*). Then there came from India 12,000 singers (*mutrib*), men and women. The Lūrīs of to-day are their descendants. And he (Bahrām) gave them goods and animals, that they might without charge make minstrelsy (*rāmišī kunand*) for the poor."²

This passage not only provides a definition of *gōsān*, according well with Patkanow's surmise. It also indicates the Parthian origin of the word; for, since *hunīyāgar* (> Persian *xunīyāgar*), with which it is glossed, is a well-attested Middle Persian term,³ it is likely that *pahlavī* is used here in its original meaning. The etymology of *gōsān* was—and remains—obscure; but the ambiguity of its initial letter in Arabic script led to attempts to connect it with Persian *kōs* "drum"⁴; but recently, by reconstructing a text from two small fragments, W. B. Henning has provided a new instance of the word, in unglossed Parthian and the clear Manichæan script, showing it to have initial *g*. The passage is as follows⁵:

cw'gun gws'n ky hsyng'n šhrd'r'n 'wd kw'n hwnr wyfr'syd 'wd wxd 'ywyx ny kryd. "Like a *gōsān*, who proclaims the worthiness of kings and heroes of old⁶ and himself achieves nothing at all."

The text cannot be closely dated, but being in good Parthian can hardly be later than the fourth or fifth centuries.

¹ H. W. Bailey, "Iranica II," *JRAS.*, 1934, pp. 514–15 (where von Stackelberg's remarks on the word *gōsān* have been slightly misinterpreted).

² *Muǰmal at-Tavārīx*, ed. Malik aš-Šu'arā Bahār, Tehran, 1318/1939, p. 69; text with French translation, J. Mohl, "Extraits du Modjmel al-Tewarikh, relatifs à l'histoire de la Perse," *JA.*, 1841, ii, pp. 515–16, 534.

³ On Mid. Pers. *hunīyāgar* see further below, p. 20 and n. 5.

⁴ See H. W. Bailey, loc. cit., p. 515; "Ariana," *Donum Natalicium H. S. Nyberg Oblatum*, Uppsala, 1954, p. 9, n. 6.

⁵ The text, which is being prepared for publication, is given here in standardized orthography. I am indebted to Professor Henning for his kind permission to quote it in advance.

⁶ The regular Manichæan use of *kw'n* for "giants, heroes" (see W. B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," *BSOAS.*, xi (1943), pp. 53–4), is an obstacle to seeing in this instance of the word a specific reference to the Kayanian legends.

This reference is of peculiar interest. In the first place, it establishes *gōsān* as a Parthian word. In the second, it provides the first piece of direct evidence for the telling of tales relating to the past by Parthian minstrels, thus providing support for the indirect evidence that the Parthians played an important part in preserving the Iranian "national" tradition.¹ Further, the passage belongs in all likelihood to the Sasanian period itself—to the time when, presumably, the old legends were collected from these same Parthian minstrels, and for the first time written down.²

It has been an inference that this old minstrel tradition was unsupported by writing, and the two Persian references to *gōsān* appear to bear it out. The song in *Vis u Rāmīn* is apparently extemporized, and the minstrel-entertainers from India hardly sound like men of books. Yet the verb *wifrās*- "teach, tell", used in the Parthian passage, does not necessarily imply to speak without text. We are therefore driven to seek more information from adjacent lands, provided most richly by Armenia. Parthian cultural influence having been so strong in Armenia, we may reasonably suppose that the Parthian *gōsān* had his effect on the art as well as the name of his Armenian counterpart. The Armenian sources can therefore be justifiably drawn on in evidence.

The best-known occurrence of the word *gusan* in Armenian is probably that in Moses of Xoren, and this is also the clearest on the point of an oral tradition; for Moses speaks of information about ancient Aram, lacking in books, being derived from "the chants and popular songs of certain obscure *gusans*".³ This statement accords admirably with the Parthian Manichæan passage, in that it shows that some at least of the Armenian *gusan*'s tales too

¹ See Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*, 2nd ed., pp. 7-9; Boyce, "Some remarks on the transmission of the Kayanian heroic cycle," *Serta Cantabrigiensia* (Mainz, 1954), pp. 49-51.

² See Boyce, "Zariadrēs and Zarēr" (*BSOAS.*, xvii (1955), pp. 471-7). Professor Henning has convinced me that in this article I gave insufficient weight to Ctesias' substitution of the name Sfendadates for that of Bardiya, which can only, he insists, mean that the fighting fame of the Kayanian Spentodāta had become well-known in Achæmenian Persia by about 400 B.C. Recognition of this fact does not, however, invalidate my main argument, that the available evidence suggests that it was the Parthians who were mainly responsible for preserving the legends of Vištāspa's ancestors. The fame of his son was a part of church-history; but his pagan forbears had only a lineal connection with the faith, and the detailed celebration of their exploits seems, in the early centuries of Zoroastrianism, to have remained largely local and secular.

³ Mos. Xor., I, xiv.

referred to the past. Moses further establishes that these tales were in verse, were sung, and were not written down.¹

This last fact probably goes far by itself to explain the contempt in which the *gusan* was held by Armenian writers, themselves men of letters, who must have nurtured the general—if ill-founded—scorn of the literate for the illiterate.² Further, these writers were all churchmen, and in their case this natural scorn was presumably reinforced by the hostility of Christians for men who, if not themselves pagan, evidently drew on a pagan past for a part of their material. Moreover, the bulk of the Armenian references present the *gusan* as an entertainer; and we have, therefore, to allow also for the antagonism felt by the serious-minded for the story-teller—for the man who “himself achieves nothing at all”. Manichæan homilist and Christian divine were evidently on this point as one.

Among the few Armenian references to *gusans* which are neutral in tone are those in the translation of the Bible, namely, Ecclesiastes ii, 8: “I got me *gusans* and singers, men and women,” and 2 Samuel xix, 35: “Can I hear any more the voice of singing-men (*gusan*) and women?”³ To these references, with their connotation of pleasant revelry, may be added two more from Faustus’ history.⁴ When, in A.D. 368, the eunuch Drastamat was permitted to wait upon his old master, King Aršak II, in prison, he freed him from his chains, bathed him, clothed him in precious raiment, and set before him a royal repast. “And he encouraged and consoled him and made him glad with *gusans*.”⁵ *Gusans* are associated with another royal occasion at the assassination of King Pap (A.D. 374), which took place at a banquet given in his honour, in Armenia, by the general Trajanus. According to Faustus, Pap was struck down while looking at the “various groups of *gusans*”, which included

¹ It is, of course, well known that the art of the later *ašuy* was oral, and it would be remarkable if an oral tradition had come to displace an older written one; but here I propose to confine consideration strictly to the Armenian *gusan* so-called.

² Darmesteter gives an excellent example of this in his *Chants populaires des Afghans*, intro., p. xcxi, where he speaks of the deep scorn of the literate *šācir* for the illiterate, but often highly trained, *qum*.

³ In the Armenian Bible this verse appears as 2 Kings xix, 35. For this information, and much other generous help, including the translation of Armenian passages, I am indebted to the kindness of my colleague, Dr. Charles Dowsett.

⁴ The references are given by von Stackelberg, loc. cit., p. 495, n. 3.

⁵ Faustus of Byzantium, V 7 (ed. Venice, 1933, p. 212, ll. 11 ff.).

drummers, pipers, lyrists, and trumpeters.¹ Ammianus Marcellinus records that the assassination took place while "the great building rang with the music of strings, songs, and wind-instruments".²

In another passage, Faustus tells how the two sons of the patriarch Yusik (fl. c. 341-7), having refused to succeed their father, gave themselves up to vice, and were struck down by an angel of the Lord while drinking wine "with prostitutes and dancing-girls and *gusans*".³ This is much more characteristic in tone of the majority of references to the *gusans*, through which clerical thunder clearly reverberates. An early writer speaks of "dissolute and *gusan*-mad drunkards, who give themselves up to debauchery and lechery"⁴; and it is said that "the grandsons of Cain invented the art of the *gusan*, and the granddaughters rouge and *kohl*".⁵ The *gusan* was connected with the theatre, although what this signified in early Armenia appears somewhat obscure.⁶ In the translation-literature *gusan* is used, derogatively, to render Greek *μῦθος*; and St. Porphyrius is represented as having been a "diabolical singer-*gusan*" (*gusan ergec'ik diwakan*) in the theatre before his conversion.⁷

Church disapproval was also directed against the *gusan* as mourner. Presumably, as a singer of panegyric and elegy, he had a part in pagan rites frowned upon by ecclesiastics. In a canon of 488 it is laid down: "Of those who mourn for the dead, let the head of the household and the *gusans* be found and taken to the king's court and punished; and let not their families dare to lament afterwards."⁸

¹ Ibid., V 32 (ed. Venice, p. 236, ll. 9 ff.).

² Amm. Marcell. XXX, 1, 18 (Loeb, iii, p. 304).

³ Faustus III 19 (ed. Venice, p. 56, ll. 5-6).

⁴ Yovhannēs Mandakuni, *Čark' Xratakank'* xiii (fifth century). This, and the following references with the initials N.B. after them, are from among those given in the dictionary *Nor Baġirk' Haykazean Lezui* (Venice, 1836), under *gusan*, and have been translated by Dr. Dowsett.

⁵ Vardan Vardapet, *Commentary on Genesis* (N.B. under *gusanut' iwn*).

⁶ In G. Goyan's 2000 *let armyanskogo teatra* ("2000 years of the Armenian theatre"), Moskow 1952, the early sections of vol. i, devoted to the *gusans*, appear to be almost entirely speculative.

⁷ *Yaysmawurk'*, 5th November (N.B.).

⁸ Movses Kaġankatuac'i, i, 26, "The canons of Vaġagan, king of Albania, established at the council held at Aġuen," no. 12. (Reference and translation from Dr. Dowsett; see also von Stackelberg, op. cit., p. 495, n. 3.) Dr. Dowsett cites a series of Armenian ritual lamentations, collected from written sources, by M. Abetean, *Gusanakan Zolovrdakan Taler Hayrenner yev Antuniner*, Erevan, 1940, pp. 249-270.

Yet, despite such expressed contempt and hostility, the godly evidently continued to succumb at times to the *gusan's* art. An extant canon enjoins: "Let not priests, abandoning pious songs, receive *gusans* [into their houses]"¹; and as late as the twelfth century a penitential prayer contains the words "I have sinned by (attending) comedies, I have sinned by entertaining *gusans*"². A scurrilous or puerile form of entertainment could hardly have exercised such persistent attraction; and it seems, therefore, that the art of the *gusan* must have had more virtue in it than the churchmen commonly allowed.

This supposition receives support from the Georgian evidence, for Georgia borrowed the word *gōsān*, presumably through Armenian, as *mgosani*.³ Christianity laid less stern hold on intellectual and literary activity in Georgia, and there a written romance-literature flourished from the twelfth century. This evidently has its roots in an older oral literature, from which it inherited a stock of epithets and situations; and in one of these conventional situations, namely that of feasting and revelry at court, the *mgosanni* figure regularly.⁴ The following examples are from the twelfth-century *Amīran-Darejaniani*⁵: "In the morning, when the sun had put forth its light, the King seated himself in the same place as before, ranged his barons round about him, and held a feast. *Mgosanni* sang and tumblers performed."⁶ "When day had broken, the Khan king took his seat, ranged his barons round about him, and held a feast. But the *mgosanni* did not sing now!" (The king's champion

¹ N.B. An alternative translation is "let not priests . . . entertain *gusans*", the word *gusanamut* being ambiguous [C.D.]. The injunction is reminiscent of a passage in Alcuin's letter to an eighth-century bishop of Northumbria: "When priests dine together . . . it is fitting . . . to listen to a reader, not to a harpist, to the discourses of the Fathers, not the poems of the heathens" (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Epist. Carol.*, ii, 124; see H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, i, p. 573). The situations have presumably an element in common, namely the struggle of a literate church against the seduction of a pagan illiteracy.

² Grigor of Maškuor (d. A.D. 1114), *Book of Prayers for Penitents* (N.B.).

³ See von Stackelberg, *ZDMG.*, 48, p. 495; *mgosani* is the word used to translate Persian *gōsān* in the Georgian *Visramiani* (see O. Wardrop's translation, p. 205; Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 514).

⁴ References in minstrel-poetry to the minstrels themselves are fairly general; for instances in Anglo-Saxon poetry see Chadwick, *Growth of Literature*, i, pp. 596-7.

⁵ For these references I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Robert Stevenson, who is engaged on a new edition of the text, with English translation. The page-references, supplied by him, are to the Tiflis edition, ed. Z. Dchidchinadze, 1896.

⁶ p. 21.

had been killed in tournament.)¹ "The next day we went to feast in another hall . . . Within *mgosanni* stood in a circle and sang."² In the later "Man in the Panther-Skin" of Rustaveli the *mgosanni* appear with acrobats as entertainers³; and in the seventeenth-century *Vard-Bulbuliani* they are among the "musicians, storytellers and rhetors" who sing the praises of the rose and nightingale.⁴

A preciser reference to eulogy by *mgosanni* occurs in an appendix to the *Amiran-Darejaniani*, unfortunately of uncertain date. The hero Jimšer kills a ravaging beast, and "*mgosanni* chanted the praises of Jimšer, and how he had delivered (the land) from the beast".⁵ In the *Abdulmesia*, itself a work of eulogy, traditionally ascribed to Shavt'eli, and hence to the twelfth century, *mgosanni* are represented as singing the praises of their patron.⁶

The oldest Georgian reference occurs, not in the romance-literature, but in the ninth-century version of the gospel of St. Matthew: Jesus came to a noble house, where a girl lay seemingly dead. "And when Jesus . . . saw the flute-players, and the crowd making a tumult, he said 'Give place: for the damsel is not dead, but sleepeth'."⁷ 'Flute-players' (τοὺς αὐλητάς) is rendered by Georgian *mgosanni*. It is plainly impossible to tell how far the Georgian translator considered the context in choosing this equivalent; but a connection between the *mgosanni* and mourning is supported by the Georgian Chronicle i, 53: '*mgosanni glovisani*,' *gōsāns* of lamentation.'⁸

The Georgian *mgosanni* appear thus as close counterparts of the Armenian *gusans*: minstrels, entertainers, eulogists, singers of laments. They are almost always spoken of in the plural, as forming a group; and the Armenian and Georgian evidence alike

¹ p. 53.

² p. 125.

³ See O. Wardrop's translation, p. 20, v. 119.

⁴ Text in A. Shanidze, *Ancient Georgian Language and Literature*, 9th ed. (Tiflis, 1947), p. 127, l. 1. (I am indebted for this reference to my colleague Dr. D. M. Lang.)

⁵ op. cit., p. 284.

⁶ See Marr, *Drevnegruzinskie Odopistsy*, 44, 4, 1; 101, 2, 3 (reference from Mr. Stevenson).

⁷ Matt. ix, 24; see R. P. Blake, *The Old Georgian Version of the Gospel of Matthew from the Adysh Gospels*, Paris, 1933 (*Patrologia Orientalis*, xxiv/i), p. 50.

⁸ Cited by Čubinov. Dr. Lang and Mr. Gugušvili have further kindly brought to my attention some interesting material on ritual lamentations for the dead in later Georgia, in *Masalebi Sak'art'velos Et'nograp'iisat'vis* (*Materialen für die Ethnographie Georgiens*), vol. iii, Tiflis, 1940. A recognized form of lamentation appears to have been the singing of extemporized verses describing the life and deeds of the dead man, together with mention of his ancestors. Successful compositions were learnt by heart and passed from generation to generation (intro., pp. xii-xiii).

suggests that the term could include players of instruments as well as singers. In the Georgian records there is no trace of contempt or hostility for the *mgosanni*, who clearly had their accepted place in life and literature.

Parthian *gōsān* has further been traced by W. B. Henning as a loan-word in Mandæan. Two occurrences are known, brought together by Lidzbarski.¹ One, in the *Asfar Malwāšē*, is as follows: "When Aquarius is with her parents, then will she exalt her father and humble her mother, and her father will become *gws'n*', or district-judge." This passage, Lidzbarski points out, suggests that the *gōsānā* was a person of some position. The other passage, in the Book of John, implies the opposite. In it *Rūhā* offers gold and pearls to Hibil Ziwā to sing her "the voice of Life"; but he rejects her pleadings, and those of Namrus, saying "I am no *gws'n*', who makes music before humble people. I am a man of the other world, a boot of iron am I, whose words and songs are clubs and blows for the wicked *Rūhā*".² Here the *gōsān* appears clearly as a professional entertainer, a musician and singer of songs. The reference to "humble people" suggests a wandering minstrel; and Lidzbarski, relying also in part on the native Syriac dictionaries, translated accordingly as "gypsy". The word itself might, he suggested, be of gypsy origin. The Iranian evidence now forbids this interpretation. Moreover, the reference in the *Asfar Malwāšē* itself suggests that the Mandæans used the word for a calling and not for an ethnic group: one could become a *gōsān* without being born to it. The two passages together show, in fact, that the Mandæans borrowed the word from the Parthians in its original sense of "minstrel-poet".³

The cumulative evidence suggests that the *gōsān* played a considerable part in the life of the Parthians and their neighbours, down to late in the Sasanian epoch: entertainer of king and

¹ See M. Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, p. 164. ² Ibid., pp. 166-7.

³ That there was a genuine resemblance between these minstrels and at least one group of "gypsies" is shown by the use of the word *gōsān*, in the *Mujmal at-Tavāriḫ*, for Indian entertainers. If these Indians were from the *ḍombha* caste of musician-minstrels, then it is their kindred who have for centuries provided minstrelsy for the Afghans and Baluchis, in a way, one would imagine, closely resembling that of the *gōsān* (see Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, intro., pp. cxci, exciii; M. Longworth Dames, *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, intro., pp. xvi-xvii). *Ḍombha*-musicians appear in Sogdian Buddhist translations, for E. Benveniste (*Textes sogdiens*, 2, 642, 783) has identified the word in Sogdian *rnp*-.

commoner, privileged at court and popular with the people; present at the graveside and at the feast; eulogist, satirist, story-teller, musician; recorder of past achievements, and commentator of his own times. Indeed, the very range of his activities makes the precise status and nature of his calling at first sight perplexing. He is sometimes an object of emulation, sometimes a despised frequenter of taverns and bawdy-houses; sometimes a solitary singer and musician, and sometimes one of a group, singing or performing on a variety of instruments. The explanation of such diversity is presumably that for the Parthians music and poetry were so closely entwined, that a man could not be a professional poet without being also a musician, skilled in instrumental as well as vocal music. Conversely, it seems probable, though hardly susceptible of proof, that instrumental music was in general closely associated with vocal. As poet-musicians, in Parthian society as in any other, the *gōsāns* presumably enjoyed reputation and esteem in proportion to their individual talents. Some were evidently the laureates of their age, performing alone before kings; others provided together choir or orchestra at court or great man's table; and yet others, it is plain, won a humble livelihood and local fame among peasants and in public places.

Unfortunately no evidence has survived of the *gōsān's* training; but clearly, as a transmitter of traditional material, as well as an extemporizer, he must have been required to commit many themes to memory, in addition to acquiring techniques of composition and recital. Pathetically little has survived of his works, and that little only indirectly: the *Yādgar ī Zarērān*, in a Middle Persian rendering and the corruptions of the Pahlavi script; a large part of the Book of Kings, at an unknown number of removes from the Parthian originals; and *Vis u Rāmīn*, also recast an unknown number of times before reaching the form in which we know it.¹ A nobility and richness of treatment is, however, apparent even in the mutilated *Yādgar*: and the other two works have a further impressiveness in their sheer length and ramification of detail. They are clearly the products of an established and exacting tradition. Lest some of our sources tempt us, nevertheless, to think too readily of the *gōsān's* art in terms of simple lays and rough barbarism, let us consider what a neighbouring society demanded

¹ The *Draxt ī Asūrīg* is considered separately; see below, p. 31.

of its leading minstrels. The following passage is from the thirteenth-century Sanskrit text, the *Saṅgītaratnākara*¹ :

Text is called *mātu*, melody *dhātu*. He who makes both words and melody is called *vāggeyakāraka*.

Knowing all the rules of the words, being versed in discourse, knowing the different varieties of metres, being skilled in applying ornamentation.

Knowing one's way about in emotions and emotional states, being dextrous in the local styles, being a past master in all the languages and skilled in all the works of æsthetics.

Being equally knowledgeable in all the three divisions of the triad,² being well-endowed with beauty of body and heart, knowing tempo, time and time divisions, and being a master of expressions.

Gifted with enjoyment of being a fountain of many ideas, singing beautifully, being acquainted with the local traditions of *rāgas*, and eloquent when victorious in contest.

Being able to get rid of all the blemishes in the execution of *rāgas*, knowing the etiquette, being full of emotional power, intent on pure enunciation to fresh melodies.

Perception of the other's mind, boldness in all the divisions of a composition, being clever at bringing out the shades of the words even in a melody in a quick tempo.

Being rich in floritura in the three registers alike, and versatile in all kinds of *ālāpas*,³ being full of devotion : by these virtues the best *vāggeyakāraka* is made.

(ii) PROFESSIONAL MINSTRELSY AT OTHER EPOCHS

There is evidence that professional minstrelsy existed in Iran before the Arsacid epoch. The Avestan people had clearly a narrative literature of entertainment, which it is reasonable to suppose was in sung verse ; and its surviving fragments are still sufficiently detailed in their ramifications to suggest that this literature was professionally cultivated. So probably were the Saka tales of Rustam, which came to be so closely interwoven with the Kayanian material. In the west, Athenæus states that the "barbarians", like the Greeks, used song worthily to "celebrate the acts of heroes and the praise of the gods" ; and he tells, on the authority of Dinon, of the Median minstrel Angares, "the most distinguished of the singers," who was invited to a feast held by King Astyages, and who, after "customary songs", sang of how "a mighty beast had been let loose in the swamp, bolder than a wild boar ; which

¹ Śārngadeva, *Saṅgītaratnākara*, iii, 2-9 (Ānandāśrama ed., Poona, 1896, pp. 243-5). I am greatly indebted to Dr. Arnold Bake for his kindness in bringing this passage to my attention, and for furnishing me with a translation of its highly technical contents.

² i.e. vocal music, instrumental music and dance (A.B.).

³ i.e. the introductory expositions of the *rāga* being sung (A.B.).

beast, if it got the mastery of the regions round it, would soon contend against a multitude without difficulty. And when Astyages asked "What beast?" he replied "Cyrus the Persian".¹ This daring utterance of a political allegory, leaving the singer apparently unscathed, makes an interesting link with the *gōsān* of *Vis u Rāmīn*. Evidently among the Medes, as among the Parthians, a skilful minstrel was a privileged person.

That minstrelsy flourished under the Achæmenians is implied in Xenophon's statement that Cyrus was celebrated down to his day "in story and in song"²; and it has been shown that these stories, part presumably of a still-living tradition, had a shaping influence on the Sasanian *Kārnāmak ī Ardašīr*.³ It is probable that the Median tale of Zariadres and Odatis was also preserved through Achæmenian minstrel tradition.⁴

For the Sasanian period there is abundant evidence of a flourishing minstrelsy in Persia proper, apart from a continuance of the *gōsān* tradition in the north. The Middle Persian terms for "minstrel" appear to have been *huniyāgar*⁵ and *huniwāz*.⁶ The former survives

¹ Athenæus, xiv, 633 (Loeb, vi, pp. 417, 419). F. Windischmann, who brought this passage to light (see his *Zoroastrische Studien*, Berlin, 1863, pp. 276-7), infused it with a religious flavour by remarking: "das Lied . . . enthält eine den Zend-texten geläufige Vorstellung, welche den Sieg (*Verethragna*) in der Gestalt eines gewaltigen Ebers . . . personificirt." E. Benveniste and L. Renou (*Vrtra et Verethragna*, Paris, 1934, pp. 68-9) also found a connection here with *Vrθragna*; but I can myself see no good grounds for reading a religious implication into what appears a perfectly straightforward comparison between a brave and dangerous enemy and a wild boar, a natural comparison in a society which hunted that animal. That the boar's fighting energy made it also a symbol of the God of Victory is surely in this connection accidental.

² *Cyropaedia* I, ii, i.

³ A. v. Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, iii, pp. 138 f.

⁴ Athenæus, xiii, 35, p. 575; see F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, iib, pp. 660-1. Chares' final words (*ibid.*, p. 661²⁷⁻³²) suggest a widespread oral transmission of the story.

⁵ This is the Pahlavi term. H. W. Bailey (*Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books*, p. 113, n. 1) has argued that *huniyāgar* meant "entertainer" in general, and that it was only Pers. *xuniyāgar* which came to be restricted to "minstrel". This he bases partly on the meaning (which he demonstrates) of adj. *huniyāg* "delightful"; partly on *Xusrau and his Page*, § 62 (J. Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, p. 32) where the term *huniyāgar* appears to include such entertainers as rope-walkers. W. B. Henning regards this usage as particular to this one passage, however, and due to interpolation. Such general entertainers are certainly not mentioned in the corresponding section of the text as preserved by Tha'alibi, *Ghururu akhbāri mulūki'l furs*, ed. Zotenberg, pp. 709-10. Apart from this debatable passage, Pahl. *huniyāgar* appears to be used, like Pers. *xuniyāgar*, for "minstrel".

⁶ This appears to be the Manichean Middle Persian term, occurring as a hapax legomenon; see W. B. Henning, "Ein manichäisches Henochbuch," *Sb. P.A.W.*, 1934, p. 28, n. 7.

in classical Persian *xunyāgar*, but is largely replaced, in texts referring to Sasanian minstrels, by *navāgar* and, more commonly, *rāmišgar*. The word *čāme-gū* also appears. In Arabic texts *mutrib*, *muṣannnī* and *šā'ir* are used interchangeably, the Middle Persian term being thus rendered indifferently as "musician", "singer", or "poet". It is a striking fact that Persian has no native word for "poet" as distinct from "minstrel". Presumably Arabic *šā'ir* was adopted for "poet" when the conception of separate, literary composition came to develop after the conquest.¹ As the texts cited below show, M.Pers. *humīyāgar*, like Parthian *gōsān*, was used to embrace both instrumentalist and singer.

In one account of Sasanian society, given in the *Letter of Tansar*, minstrels are mentioned as forming part of the third estate of the realm, as established by Ardašīr. In this estate were numbered scribes, physicians, minstrels (*šū'arā*) and astronomers—men, that is, of learning and ability in secular life.² The author of the *Letter*, who emphasizes throughout the need for a stable society, stresses the near-impossibility of moving from one estate to the other; but implies that a man of exceptional gifts could be admitted to the third estate, from, presumably, the fourth estate of manual workers.³ (The journeyman pearl-borer who entertained his employer all day by playing the lute seems a possible candidate for such transfer.⁴) In the *Kitāb at-Tāj* it is said, however, that for the "story-tellers and musicians" attached to the Sasanian court questions of origin were of no importance.⁵ Presumably royal minstrels were subject to the same broad restrictions as royal jesters or jugglers, who had to be free from physical blemishes, or gross

¹ See below, pp. 32-7. The distinction has been maintained among those Iranian peoples, such as the Afghans and the Kurds, who have cultivated minstrelsy down to our own times. The literate poet is named *šā'ir*, whereas the oral poet, who is always a singer and musician too, bears a local name (*qum*, *dengbež*, etc.).

² *The Letter of Tansar*, ed. M. Minovi, Tehran, 1932, p. 12. It is perhaps a pleasant example of Persian traditionalism that it is precisely these four callings which are grouped together by Nizāmi-i 'Arūdi as furnishing "the servants essential to kings" (*Chahār Maqāle*, *Gibb Mem. Series*, text, p. 11). The *šū'arā* are omitted by Jāhiz, *Kitāb at-Tāj*, ed. A. Zeki Pasha, Cairo, 1914, p. 25; transl. Ch. Pellat, Paris, 1954, p. 53.

³ *Letter*, p. 14; see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed., p. 98, n. 3.

⁴ See W. B. Henning, "Sogdian Tales," *BSOAS*, xi (1945), pp. 465-9. Henning considers this Sogdian story to be quite likely of Persian origin (*ibid.*, p. 466).

⁵ Cairo ed., p. 138; transl., p. 158.

defects of character or parentage¹; but clearly, despite the rigidity suggested in the *Letter of Tansar*, Sasanian minstrelsy was a calling and not a matter of class or inheritance.

In another account of the division of society into seven orders (also attributed to Ardašīr), one order is said to have comprised singers (*muṣanniyāna*), minstrels (*muṣṭribāna*), and musicians.² Within this order there were distinctions of rank; and a court-musician of the second rank was entitled to refuse to accompany a singer of the first, even at the order of the king.³ These distinctions appear to have rested on merit; but possibly this merit was assessed by professional tests of accomplishment. Otherwise it is difficult to understand the disapproval expressed for Bahrām Gōr, who, according to Mas'ūdī, amalgamated the first and second ranks, in order to elevate a singer of the second rank who had delighted him.⁴ According to the *Kitāb at-Tāj*, Bahrām raised to the first rank all who pleased him, and degraded to the second all who failed to do so. The old system is said to have been restored by Xusrau Anōšarwān.⁵ Musicians and singers of the first rank belonged to the highest class of courtiers, comprising nobles and princes of the blood royal, and were placed on a footing of equality with the greatest of them.⁶ The court-minstrels appear to have been in constant attendance in the king's audience-chamber, where they were called on at the discretion of the *xurrambās*⁷; and also at state-banquets⁸ and upon special occasions⁹; and yearly they presented poems (*šī'r*) as offerings to the king at the festivals of Mihrgān and Naurūz.¹⁰

¹ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, ii, pp. 153-4.

² Mas'ūdī, ii, pp. 156-7.

³ *Kitāb at-Tāj*, Cairo ed., pp. 26-7; transl., pp. 54-5; Christensen, loc. cit., pp. 402-3.

⁴ Mas'ūdī, ii, pp. 157-8. Harun ar-Rašīd is said to have established ranks among his singers, on the Sasanian model (*Kitāb at-Tāj*, Cairo ed., pp. 37-8; transl., p. 65); and there is a story that a musician of the second rank at his court, who had delighted the Caliph by his playing, flatly refused to accompany a singer of the first, unless elevated in rank himself. The Caliph acceded to his demand (ibid., Cairo ed., p. 41; transl., p. 69), thus apparently yielding to the same temptation as Bahrām Gōr.

⁵ *Kitāb at-Tāj*, Cairo ed., p. 28; transl., pp. 55-6.

⁶ Ibid., Cairo ed., p. 25; transl., p. 53.

⁷ Mas'ūdī, ii, pp. 158-9.

⁸ *Kitāb at-Tāj*, Cairo ed., p. 174; transl., p. 191.

⁹ In Ṭabarī (Nöldeke, p. 306), musicians are mentioned, together with the *marzbāns*, as accompanying Xusrau Parwēz to celebrate the finishing of a dam across the Tigris.

¹⁰ *Kitāb at-Tāj*, Cairo ed., p. 148; transl., p. 166.

One of the later Sasanian monarchs, Xusrau Parwēz, is said to have divided his day into four, the second part being spent "joyously, with minstrels" (*be šādī u rāmišgarān*).¹ In the Pahlavi text *Xusrau and his Page* this same king is represented as questioning his page about "the sweetest and best minstrel" (*hunīyāgar ī . . . xwaštar ud wēh*).² The page mentions the players of various instruments (such as harp and lute and barbiton, flute and horn), but awards the palm of excellence to a lovely harpist in the *šabestān*, gifted with a clear, sweet voice (*čang-srāy-ē nēwak ī nēwakōk pad šabestān, kanīzak ī čang-srāy wēh, ka-š wāng tēz ud xwaš-āwāz*)³; or to a lute-player at a great feast (*vīn-srāy-ē*) *xwāran ī wazarg*).⁴ The version preserved by Tha'alībī is rather different, for there the page declares the sweetest music to be "that produced by a stringed instrument whose sound is like a song, and that of a song whose modulation resembles the sound of the instrument".⁵ Both answers suggest the value set on a blending of vocal and instrumental music.

Xusrau Parwēz possessed not only a love of minstrelsy and a discerning page. He was also the patron of Bārbad, traditionally the greatest Sasanian court-minstrel. Legend represents Bārbad himself as singer and player both, an original poet and an original musician.⁶ Presumably, therefore, although the functions of singer and accompanist could be divided, the *vāggeyakāraka* was regarded in Iran, as in India, as the finest exponent of his profession. The story runs⁷ that Bārbad, according to one source a native of Marv,⁸ was ambitious to become one of Xusrau Parwēz's minstrels, but was thwarted by the jealousy of the reigning chief minstrel,

¹ *Šāhnāme*, 43, 3262-3.

² J. Asana, *Pahl. Texts*, p. 32¹¹ (§ 60).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 33¹⁻².

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33³.

⁵ Tha'alībī, Zotenberg, p. 709.

⁶ On Bārbad as a "ballad-singer" see E. G. Browne, "The Sources of Dawlatshah, with . . . an excursus on Bārbad and Rūdagi," *JRAS.*, 1899, pp. 54-61; *Literary History of Persia*, i (1929), pp. 14-18; on Bārbad as a musician see A. Christensen, "Some Notes on Persian Melody-Names of the Sasanian Period," *Dastur Hoshang Mem. Vol.*, Bombay, 1918, pp. 368-377; *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed., pp. 484-6. On the forms of Bārbad's name see Browne, *JRAS.*, 1899, p. 55, n. 1; *Lit. Hist.*, i, p. 15; Christensen, *L'Iran*, p. 484, n. 2; Nöldeke, *Nat. epos*, 2nd ed., p. 42, n. 2.

⁷ See *Šāhnāme*, 43, 3724 ff.; Tha'alībī, Zotenberg, pp. 694-8.

⁸ Tha'alībī, Zotenberg, p. 694; but another tradition makes Bārbad a native of Fars (see Browne, *JRAS.*, 1899, p. 61).

Sargis.¹ He was driven, therefore, to hide in a tree in the royal gardens, from which he caught the king's ear by three exquisite songs, sung to his lute among the leaves. The king was enchanted, and lavished jewels on him, and Bārbad "became king of the minstrels (*rāmišgarān*), a man of fame among the great".² As a musician he was held peerless. It was said that "he had for the banquets of Parwēz 360 melodies, one of which he used to sing each day; and his words are a final appeal for the masters of music (*ustādān-i musīqī*)".³ The titles of his "thirty airs" have been listed, on late and doubtful authority,⁴ and have been analysed by Christensen.⁵

The only songs of Bārbad's whose substance has come down to us are occasional ones. One, whereby he saved the life of the king's Master of Horse, was composed to tell Parwēz of the death of his favourite charger, Šabdēz.⁶ Another he sang, at the workmen's pleading, to tell Parwēz of the completion, after seven long years, of the great gardens at Qaṣr-i Šīrīn⁷; and after this he sang again at Šīrīn's request, describing a splendid castle, and in this way reminding Parwēz of his promise to build such a castle for his queen. For this service Šīrīn gave Bārbad a farm near Isfahān, on which he settled his family.⁸ The legends of these songs give a vivid sense of Bārbad's power over his royal master. On the one hand, they forge a link with the bold Angares, and the nameless *gōsān* of *Vis u Rāmīn*; on the other, they serve to explain why, a little earlier, Mazdak had numbered the minstrel (*rāmišgar*) with the *mōbadān mōbad*, *herbadān herbad* and the *spāhbad* as one of the four chief servants of the king.⁹ It was clearly not only under Parwēz that the minstrel influenced the throne.

¹ Named Sarkaš by Firdausi; by Tha'alibī, Sarjis; by Nizāmī (*Xusrāu u Šīrīn*), Nakisā.

² *Šāhnāme*, 43, 3791.

³ Qazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīde*, *Gibb Mem. Series*, p. 122³⁻⁵; Browne, *JRAS.*, 1899, p. 57.

⁴ See *Burhān-i Qāṭi*, under *sī lahn*; Nizāmī, *Xusrāu u Šīrīn*, ed. V. Dastagirdi, Tehran, 1313/1934, pp. 190-4. For the names of the "seven royal modes", and of Sasanian musical instruments, see Mas'ūdī, viii, p. 90.

⁵ In *Dastur Hoshang Mem. Vol.*, pp. 368-377.

⁶ Zakariyā Qazwīnī, *Āthār-u-l Bilād*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, pp. 230-1; Browne, *JRAS.*, 1899, pp. 58-9; *Lit. Hist.*, i, pp. 17-18.

⁷ Yāqūt, *Geographical Dictionary*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, pp. 112-13; transl. Barbier de Meynard, pp. 448-9.

⁸ *Ibid.*; Zakariyā Qazwīnī, op. cit., p. 296; Browne, *JRAS.*, 1899, p. 60.

⁹ Šahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 193¹²⁻¹³; transl. Th. Haarbrücker, i, p. 292.

Although Bārbad supplanted by his art the former chief minstrel, his rival remained at court, and Parwēz is said to have had his keenest delight in hearing the two sing in alternation.¹ In the end, according to one tradition, Bārbad died by poison at his rival's hand; and for all his joy in Bārbad, Parwēz pardoned the murderer, rather than lose both his matchless minstrels at one blow.²

That professional minstrelsy was not confined to courts in the Sasanian period is shown by references to *huniyāgarān* in Pahlavi texts. In the *Sūr Saxvan* it is enjoined, as a matter of general etiquette, that thanks should be given after a feast to the minstrels³; and tradition has it that, from Bahrām Gōr's reign onwards, the number of minstrels at poor men's tables was increased by the influx of Indian "gōsāns".⁴

The *Šāhnāme* can be accounted, in many of its details, as a document of the Sasanian period; and it contains numerous references to minstrels, usually under the term *rāmišgarān*. Many of these are stock-references to their presence at feasts, as in the case of the Georgian *mgosanni*.⁵ A number of preciser cases occur, however. The following, from the story of Kai Kāōs, may well embody an old tradition. A minstrel-demon (*rāmišgarī dēv*) seeks audience of the king, saying "I am a sweet singer from among the minstrels of Māzandarān" (*čunīn guft k-az šahr-i māzandarān, yakī vvaš-navāz-am zi rāmišgarān*). At the king's command he is swiftly admitted, and seated before the musicians. He tunes his own barbiton, and sings a song of the beauties of Māzandarān, so inflaming Kāōs with his description that he resolves instantly to conquer that land.⁶

¹ Tha'alibi, Zotenberg, p. 704; in his *Xusrau u Širīn* (Tehran ed., pp. 359-378), Niẓāmī devotes many verses to a series of songs sung in turn, to stringed instruments, by Bārbad and Nakisā.

² Tha'alibi, pp. 704-5.

³ See J. C. Tavadia, "Sur Saxvan: a Dinner-Speech in Middle Persian," *Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 29 (1935), p. 35, § 18b, and pp. 74-5.

⁴ See above, p. 11; and cf. *Šāhnāme*, 35b, 862 ff.; Tha'alibi, Zotenberg, pp. 566-7; Qazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīde*, *Gibb Mem. Series*, p. 112¹⁰⁻¹². In Tha'alibi's version there is no suggestion, as in the *Mujmal* and the *Šāhnāme*, of a royally subsidized minstrelsy. The people are themselves to employ the singers, have pleasure from them, and reward them justly.

⁵ A number of passages on feasting and minstrelsy in the *Šāhnāme* have been collected by F. Rosenberg; see his "On Wine and Feasts in the Iranian National Epic", translated from the Russian by L. Bogdanov, *Journal of the K.R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 19 (1931), pp. 13-44. Similar passages occur in *Vīs u Rāmīn*.

⁶ *Šāhnāme*, 12, 22-39; see also Tha'alibi, Zotenberg, p. 156. The incident is reminiscent of Rūdākī's enticing of Amir Naṣr bin Aḥmad.

Minstrels are generally represented, not as wanderers, but as members of the court. When, in the legendary part of the poem, Sohrāb hears of the death of Žande Razm, he hastens from the feast, accompanied by attendants, lights, and minstrels (*xunyāgarān*), to see the body.¹ It is possible to think here of the newspaper-reporter, eager for copy; and there is probably a resemblance. The minstrel, too, appears ever ready with description and comment. Thus, after the death of Pērōz in 484, despite the general grief, singers (*čāme-gū*) at the feast praise the general "Sufārā";² and sing to the barbiton the war with "Turan".³ Here is a heroic lay at its inception, and the implication is that the minstrels went themselves to the wars, composing their songs close upon the event.⁴ Their presence in a Sasanian army can also be inferred from a Manichæan Middle Persian parable, which describes how men attacking a fortress distract its defenders by a spectacle "with much song and music" (*srūd ud nīwāg ī was*), while they themselves storm it from the rear.⁵

Listening to heroic minstrelsy was evidently both delight and inspiration. In legendary days, Zāl is represented as telling Rustam that he is still too young to fight, and that he should content himself with feasting and listening to heroic song (*pahlavānī surūd*).⁶ Later in the poem, when Bahrām Čubīn feels his spirit flag on the eve of battle, he summons a minstrel (*rāmišgar*) to sing a heroic song of the Seven Stages of Isfandiyār, and his exploits at the Brazen Hold.⁷ This incident, if authentic, provides an interesting example of the cultivation of Kayanian heroic lays by a professional minstrel in the later Sasanian period.

The evidence for the Sasanian *huniyāgar* shows that the range of his activities was very much the same as that of the Parthian *gösān*. From this later period the names of two famous court-

¹ *Šāhnāme*, 12c, 688. (This is the sole occurrence of the word *xunyāgar* in the poem.)

² i.e. the Kāren Söxrā; cf. Nöldeke, *Ṭabari*, pp. 130-2.

³ *Šāhnāme*, 39, 180-2.

⁴ Although the Sasanian era was not a "heroic age", the inherited conventions of heroic literature were evidently maintained during it, and survived long enough to influence Firdausi.

⁵ Andreas-Henning, *Mir. Man.*, ii, p. 305 = M 2 V II 7-14.

⁶ *Šāhnāme*, 10, 64.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 42, 1710.

minstrels—Bārbad and his rival—happen to have survived,¹ whereas the Parthian period is sunk in a deeper obscurity; but the minstrelsy of both epochs is evidently of the same general character. The *huniyāgar*, like the *gōsān*, clearly inherited a body of traditional material, on which he could extemporize as called upon; and he also contributed poems of his own invention, of varied character, sung to an instrumental accompaniment.

(iii) NON-PROFESSIONAL MINSTRELSY

There is good evidence that in ancient Iran minstrelsy was cultivated, not only by professionals, but generally. Strabo speaks of the use of narrative song in education during the Parthian period, saying that the teachers "rehearse both with song and without song the deeds both of the gods and of the noblest men".² This statement can be linked with a Persian legend preserved centuries later by Grigor Magistros. Writing of trees, Grigor says: "But I will mention the Rostom tree, from which, it is said, they used to cut branches and make them into small lyres, which they placed in the hands of youths, who learned (to play) without any trouble, just as (the Greeks) used to make them from laurel-branches when, as a chorus, they sang the Homeric poems."³ This indicates that the Iranians, like the Greeks, used poetry sung to the lyre in educating their children. In the late Sasanian period, Xusrau Parwēz' page, a boy of noble birth, claims skill in music and song as a part of his accomplishments⁴: "In harp⁵ and lute and barbiton and guitar and cithara, and in all songs and chants, and also in composing responses⁶ and in making

¹ Browne (*Lit. Hist.*, i, p. 18) gives, on the authority of al-Bayhaqī, the names of three other Sasanian minstrels (*Āfarīn*, *Xusravānī*, *Mādhavāstānī*); but Christensen (*Dastur Hoshang Mem. Vol.*, p. 371, n. 2), is probably right in thinking that these are really misunderstood musical terms.

² Strabo, xv, 3, 18 (Loeb, vii, p. 179).

³ Letter xii; see Grigor Chalathiantz, "Fragmente iranischer Sagen bei Grigor Magistros," *WZKM.*, x (1896), p. 221 (text with German translation). The English translation given here is Dr. Dowsett's.

⁴ J. Asana, *Pahl. Texts*, p. 28, § 13.

⁵ Reading, with Henning, *cygwn*. The translations of *čigūmag* and *padwāzīg kardān* are also Henning's.

⁶ In some Parthian Manichaean manuscripts a marginal letter *p*, held to represent *padwaz*, is written by alternate verses, seemingly to mark the antiphon. Applied to minstrel-singing, *padwāzīg* perhaps indicates the alternation of songs in rivalry—a mutual capping of achievement, as represented between Bārbad and Sargis—rather than singing in duet.

word-plays, I am an expert" (*pad čang ud vīn ud barbut ud tambūr ud kinnār, ud harw srūd [ud] čīgāmag, ud padīč padwāzag guftan [ud] padwāzig kardan, ustād-mard hēm*).

There are occasional references to the composing of sung poetry by men of noble birth. In the *Yādgar ī Zarērān* the young prince Bastwar utters a short, deeply-moving lament on the battlefield over his dead father.¹ In the *Šāhnāme* Isfandiyār on his Fourth Course, resting in the wilderness by a spring, takes his guitar and sings a lament for his hard lot, condemned ever to wander and to fight.² His singing attracts the witch whom he must overcome, and it is likely, therefore, that the account of it is as old as the story. The incident is closely reproduced in the Fourth Course of Rustam.³ Joyous improvisation is mentioned at the birth of Rustam himself, when all Sām's entourage "drank to the sound of the lyre, each joyfully uttered songs".⁴ Love-songs, presumably sung by a man of birth, are mentioned in a Manichaean Middle Persian parable, in which a girl, immured in a castle, loses her heart to a false lover who woos her with "sweet song" (*niwāg ī šīrīn*) from the foot of its walls.⁵

These few instances suggest that the use of song by princes and grown men of rank was largely spontaneous and personal, an expression of grief or joy or love, and doubtless of other emotions as well. This general, private practice of minstrelsy must have led to a discriminating patronage of its public forms. Minstrelsy for entertainment was evidently cultivated, not only by professionals, but also by pages, such as Xusrau's, and by women—by those, in fact, whose allotted function in life was to serve and please. There are a number of references to women's minstrelsy. As we have seen, Xusrau's page himself considered one of the finest forms of minstrelsy to be that provided by a lovely harpist with a sweet, clear voice; and tales of minstrelsy by girls in various walks of life have come down in some abundance in the story of Bahrām Gōr, a king famed both for his love of minstrelsy and his love of women. In his youth Bahrām is said to have asked

¹ J. Asana, *Pahl. Texts*, p. 12; see C. Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntnis der mittel-iranischen Mundarten*, iv, p. 22; E. Benveniste, "Le Mémorial de Zarēr," *J.A.*, 1932, i, pp. 280-2. It is an inference that Bastwar's lament was sung.

² *Šāhnāme*, 15, 1735-1744; Tha'alibī, Zotenberg, pp. 312-14.

³ *Šāhnāme*, 12, 426-433.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7, 1780.

⁵ Andreas-Henning, *Mir. Man.*, ii, p. 306¹⁻⁴ (= M 2 V II 22-9).

of the indulgent Mundhir singing-girls, and to have passed his days in their company, with music and hunting and sports.¹ Later his Persian subjects, when visited by him, were ever ready to present him, not with the customary magnificent charger, but with a singing-girl or dancer.² Under his genial rule, his subjects are represented as abandoning themselves wholly to pleasure and to listening to songs, until Bahrām himself was forced to regulate these delights.³ The account of his reign in the *Šāhnāme* abounds in instances of his pleasure in song. Once, wandering as was his custom, he comes upon a pleasant village-scene at dusk, with the people gathered round a fire, and the girls singing in turn "songs of royal wars" (*čāme-yi razm-i xusrāu*).⁴ Among these songs praises are uttered of Bahrām himself. When the king approaches, unrecognized, four girls go hand-in hand to meet him and welcome him with songs,⁵ so delighting him that he demands all four of their father, a miller, and bears them off. Later, the king lodges at a poor man's hut, and in the evening the woman brings him food and a lute,⁶ and he asks her to beguile him with "an ancient tale" while he eats. Soon after this Bahrām is entertained by a wealthy vassal, whose three daughters are each gifted—one to dance, one to play the harp, and one to sing.⁷ The singer and harpist together, at their father's bidding, improvise a song in praise of Bahrām's beauty and prowess,⁸ so sweetly that he takes both them and their sister into his household. Yet again, the king is guided by the sound of a harp to the house of a wealthy jeweller. The harpist is his daughter. The king, once more unrecognized, demands a song of her; and after playing first the "Magians' call" (*xurūš-i muyān*),⁹ she sings a eulogy, first of her father and then of their guest. The next morning Bahrām asks for more songs, of hunting and of battle¹⁰; and these she sings, following them with a eulogy of the king.¹¹ This lady too finds her way to Bahrām's palace; and it is small wonder that when at last he returns there himself, he is greeted tumultuously with song and harp, so that "the earth saluted the sky".¹²

¹ Tha'ālibi, Zotenberg, p. 541.

² *Kitāb at-Tāj*, ed. Cairo, p. 159; transl., p. 177.

³ Tha'ālibi, Zotenberg, p. 565.

⁴ *Šāhnāme*, 35, 461.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 477.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 718 (reading with C).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 846.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 844-854.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1011.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1105.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1126-1130.

¹² *Ibid.*, 35, 1427.

Singing by groups of harpists is mentioned in the *Šāhnāme* at the court of Kai Xusrau: "each day *peri*-faced harpists used to gather joyfully in the palace. Night and day when he held court, he used to require wine, and song from the lips of a Turk."¹ Massed women-harpists are shown in the carvings at Tāq-i Bustān,² where Xusrau Parwēz, hunting the boar through swamps, is represented as attended by two boats, one filled with women-harpists, the other with women singing and clapping their hands. In his own boat, as well as a woman handing him arrows, is another woman-harpist. This representation of music at the chase recalls yet another legend of Bahrām Gōr, telling how, as a young prince, he used to ride hunting on a camel, with a favourite singing-girl seated harp in hand behind him.³ Dr. Bake has suggested that in these instances of minstrelsy during the chase, the music was possibly designed, not only to delight the hunter, but also to lure the game. For a belief in the attraction of music for wild animals he cites the conception of the *toḍī rāgīnī* in North India, represented pictorially as a slender girl with lute, charming the woodland deer to her feet.⁴

Apart from this perhaps practical purpose, non-professional minstrelsy is thus attested in the fields of eulogy, lamentation, and rejoicing; in love-songs, and songs of hunting, of battle and of "ancient wars". It appears, therefore, to cover much the same ground as professional minstrelsy. Moreover, the amateur evidently resembled the professional in being, not merely a transmitter, but a creative artist, in that he (or she) extemporized his songs in response to his own mood, or to some external demand or stimulus.

It is clear that sung poetry was also used to instruct. In addition to his statement that song was used in teaching, Strabo records that

¹ Ibid., 13g, 1115-16.

² See A. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, iv, Plates 163A and B; Christensen, *L'Iran*, pp. 470, 471.

³ See *Šāhnāme*, 34, 166 ff.; Thaʿālibī, pp. 541-3; Qazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīde*, p. 112; Nizāmī, *Haft Paikar*, ed. V. Dastagirdi, Tehran 1315/1936, pp. 108 ff.

⁴ See O. C. Gangoly, *Rāgas and Rāgīnīs*, i (Bombay, 1935), Plates vi, ix (pp. 72, 120); A. Daniélou, *Northern Indian Music*, ii (London, 1954), p. 47. Dr. Bake further cites a passage from Sir William Jones, *On the Musical Modes of the Hindus*, (reprinted in Sourindro Mohun Tagore, *Hindu Music from various Authors*, i, p. 127): "I have been assured by a credible eye-witness, that two wild antelopes used often to come from their woods to the place where a more savage beast, Sira Juddaulah (Siraju-d Daula), entertained himself with concerts, and that they listened to the strains with an appearance of pleasure, till the monster in whose soul there was no music, shot one of them to display his archery."

"there is said to be a Persian song wherein are enumerated 360 uses of the palm-tree".¹ This remark has been cited by E. Benveniste in connection with the Pahlavi text *Draxt ī Asūrīg*, shown by Bartholomae to have had a Parthian original,² and by Benveniste himself to be in verse.³ This stray survivor of a characteristic class of oral poetry belongs evidently to a wisdom-literature, probably cultivated by priests or sages rather than by minstrels.⁴

The use of sung religious poetry in Iran, amply attested both in surviving texts, and in references by classical historians, does not come within the scope of this article. Evidently there was, however, a cross-fertilization down the centuries of priestly and minstrel traditions, since heroic stories entered liturgical texts, and ancient gods appear as heroes in the secular epic. As well as the old Avestan hymns, we now have several Zoroastrian poems of visionary or didactic character, from the Sasanian or post-Sasanian period⁵; and the Manichæan church in Iran has left a wealth of hymns and liturgical texts in verse from the same epoch. While making their own full use of sung poetry, the Sasanian churches warned their followers against the seduction of secular minstrelsy. A Zoroastrian text enjoins restraining the eye from women, the mouth from delicious food, the tongue from folly, and the ear from minstrelsy (*huniyāgih*).⁶ The Manichæan parable mentioned above, in which a girl dies of grief for a false lover who has wooed her with "sweet song", is told to illustrate the need to guard the faculty of hearing. The Christian bishop Afraates demanded of the faithful, in western Sasanian lands, abstention from "song, and the vain precepts of vessels of iniquity, and the dazzling of sweet words".⁷ Moralists being seldom inclined to admonish where there

¹ Strabo, xvi, i, 14 (Loeb, vii, p. 215).

² Bartholomae, *Mitteliran. Mundarten*, iv, pp. 23 ff.

³ Benveniste, "Le texte du *Draxt Asūrīg* et la versification pehlevie," *JA.*, 1930, ii, pp. 193-225.

⁴ On the cultivation of wisdom-literature see Chadwick, *Growth of Literature*, iii, p. 883.

⁵ See E. Benveniste, "Une apocalypse pehlevie: le *Zāmāsp Nāmak*," *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, 106 (1932), pp. 337-380; J. C. Tavadia, "A Didactic Poem in Zoroastrian Pahlavi," *Indo-Iranian Studies*, i (1950), pp. 86-95; "A Rhymed Ballad in Pahlavi," *JRAS.*, 1955, pp. 29-36; W. B. Henning, "A Pahlavi Poem," *BSOAS.*, xiii (1950), pp. 641-8.

⁶ *Denkart*, ed. Madan, pp. 160²²-161¹; see Bailey, *Zor. Problems*, p. 113, n. 1.

⁷ G. Bert, "Aphrahat's des persischen Weisen Homilien, aus dem syrischen übersetzt," Homilie i, p. 19, in Gebhardt-Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, iii (1888).

is no temptation, the churchmen may be held to have testified to the charm and persuasiveness of Sasanian minstrelsy.

(iv) THE LOSS OF IRANIAN MINSTREL-POETRY

The evidence, scattered and varied though it is, establishes the existence in pre-Islamic Iran of "un vaste courante poétique";¹ flowing from Median times down to the end of the Sasanian period. The Arabic conquest can hardly have served to cut this current abruptly off, or to have plunged the poetry-loving Persians into silence for some 300 years. Yet during this dark period the old poetry seems to have vanished so completely that thereafter its very existence came to be in doubt. For this vanishing there appear to be two main causes.

In the first place, it seems that Iranian poetry remained oral down to the conquest. All our sources suggest that the *huniyāgar*, like the Parthian *gōsān*, was a true minstrel, extemporizing his verses to music without help of writing. Bārbad, a perfect example of a minstrel-poet, flourished during the last great Sasanian reign. If minstrelsy was still honoured at the court of Parwēz, it is hardly to be supposed that it was superseded by literate composition during the few short and troubled reigns which followed.

The use of writing, continuous evidently from Achæmenian days, is of course abundantly attested for the Sasanian period. The body of trained scribes (*dibīrān*) fulfilled important functions in society, being responsible, among other things, for administration, records, legal matters, accountancy and communications. Nor was a knowledge of writing limited to these professionals; royal slaves existed capable on occasion of recording their master's words²; and a knowledge of writing was, sometimes at least, part of a gentleman's education. According to the *Kārnāmak*, Ardašīr himself learnt scribesmanship (*dibīrīh*) at Pāpak's court³; and Bahrām Gōr is said to have acquired the same attainment as a child.⁴ It is not surprising, therefore, to find Xusrau's all-proficient page claiming skill in the art⁵: "And my scribesmanship is such that I am a good penman and a swift penman, with accurate

¹ E. Benveniste, *JA.*, 1930, ii, p. 224.

² *Kitāb at-Tāj*, Cairo ed., p. 27; transl., p. 54.

³ *Kārnāmak*, i, 23.

⁴ *Šāhnāme*, 34, 110-11.

⁵ J. Asana, *Pahl. Texts*, p. 27, § 10.

knowledge and skilful fingers, and learned in language" (*um dibīrīh a'ōn ku xūb-nibēg ud rag-nibēg*,¹ *bārīk-dānišn, kāmāk-kār-angust* ² [*ud*] *frazānak-saxvan hēm*). It is noticeable that the page's claim is to technical proficiency, clearly no easy achievement with Pahlavi. From *dibīrīh* he goes on to speak of horsemanship and the manage of arms, before coming to music and the composition of poetry (*srūd ud čigāmag*), which he links together as a single accomplishment.

The separation of *dibīrīh* from poetry appears general, and no text exists, to my knowledge, from pre-Islamic Iran connecting secular poetry with writing. Religious poetry was written down within the Sasanian period, if not earlier; but it is significant that the oldest written verse-texts from this epoch appear to be those of the Manichæan religion, in which Semitic influences were strong, and whose prophet, brought up in Babylonia, laid especial emphasis on the stabilizing effect of writing.³ The native Zoroastrian religious books do not appear to have been set down until late in the period. If religion lagged in this matter behind the state, it is hardly surprising if poets, lacking any spur of rivalry or expedience, were even slower in adapting to writing their long tradition of an oral art.

A number of native prose-works, written down before the Arabic conquest, survive directly or in translation; and these are almost all characterized by having a factual or a pseudo-factual basis, and by being composed, seemingly, for some practical purpose, either as propaganda for the reigning house, or a record, or an inducement to the virtuous behaviour desirable in a good churchman and citizen. They comprise chronicles,⁴ political treatises, works on rank and etiquette, moral discourses and testaments; and can fairly be described as official writings, emanating from court or state-church. They fall into two main groups. Firstly,

¹ Reading with Bailey, *Zor. Problems*, p. 160.

² Henning's reading; *kāmāk-kār-hudast*, Bailey, loc. cit.

³ See Andreas-Henning, *Mir. Man.*, ii, pp. 295-6 (= T II D 126 I R, I V).

⁴ Christensen, *Les gestes des rois dans les traditions de l'Iran antique*, 1936, pp. 116-17, argued that the Achæmenian chronicles were already "en quelque sorte une littérature d'amusements" rather than a factual record. This he based on Esther, vi i. Christensen's deduction from this verse seems hazardous, however. There is no reason why the king of kings, zealous in affairs of state, should not turn in sleeplessness to an objective record of events; and that this was actually the case is suggested by the fact that the reading served to remind him of a task undone, namely the rewarding of Mordecai.

there are the original prose-writings of the Sasanian era, such as the *Testament of Ardašīr* or the *Andarz ī Xusrau ī Kawādān*. These are characterized by a dry didacticism. Secondly, there are partly derivative works, such as the *Xwadāy Nāmak* or the *Karnāmak ī Ardašīr*, which contain much older material of imaginative quality, almost certainly drawn from minstrel tradition. The pre-Islamic literature has recently been characterized as having "vivid imagination, controlled by a logical and somewhat utilitarian outlook, with a pronounced religious leaning",¹ and the impression of oddly juxtaposed qualities which it leaves on us appears due to the fact that our knowledge of it is largely limited to its religious verse and official prose, in which latter there exist, for the most part unrecognized, transmuted elements of the lost secular poetry.

Evidently there existed native prose works written for entertainment, consisting of collections of short stories.² The only one to survive indirectly, the *Hazār Afsān*, provided the kernel for the *Thousand and One Nights*. Stray short stories are also to be found in the parables of the Manichæan church.³ In general, however, story-telling, like poetry, seems to have been carried on without books. The professional story-teller (*muḥaddith*) had his place at court,⁴ and the richness of his repertoire is implied by the fact that he was forbidden ever to repeat himself, unless at the king's command.⁵ Evidently he required a memory as good as the professional poet's. Story-telling appears also as a general diversion, as one would expect. In the *Šāhnāme* the blinded Hormuzd IV is represented as asking for two men to help pass the weariness of his days.⁶ One is to be a scribe (*dibīr*),⁷ a wise old man (*dānande mard-i kuhan*), who will read to him of the deeds of kings from a book (*nabište yakī daftar*); the other a battle-scarred nobleman, who will tell of wars and the chase. Here a distinction is clearly implied between the written factual chronicle, providing matter for reflec-

¹ See the admirable short survey of the subject by I. Gershevitch, "Iranian Literature," in *Literatures of the East, an Appreciation* (ed. E. B. Ceadel, London, 1953), p. 71. In making this characterization, Gershevitch had also in mind the Avestan hymns and the Ossetic Nart Saga.

² See Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 304.

³ See, e.g. W. Bang, "Manichäische Erzähler," *Le Muséon*, xliv (1931), pp. 1-36; W. B. Henning, "Sogdian Tales," *BSOAS*, xi (1945), pp. 465-487.

⁴ *Kitāb at-Tāj*, ed. Cairo, p. 24; transl., p. 52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ed. Cairo, p. 113; transl., p. 137.

⁶ *Šāhnāme*, 43, 56-9.

⁷ He is so called, *ibid.*, 43, 69.

tion, and story-telling for diversion. It seems unlikely, however, that in Sasanian times story-telling, even when professional, rose above the level of anecdote and short story, or that it could rank as a serious narrative literature. The story-teller was plainly less honoured than the poet, and had to seek novelty to hold attention.

The only prose works of entertainment, apart from *Hazār Afsān*, known to have a sustained narrative interest, or elaborate framework, are of foreign origin, and were apparently rendered into Pahlavi late in the period. There is, for example, the Hellenistic romance of *Wāmiq wa 'Adhrā*, coming probably through Syriac, and said to have been dedicated to Xusrau Anōšarwān.¹ From India came, evidently at about the same time, such works as *Kalīla wa Dimna*, the *Tūtī Nāme* and the *Sindbād Nāme*. Even in these latter works of entertainment, the stories are mixed with edification, so that either for this reason, or because they were written down, to study them could be regarded as a sign of moral worth. Thus it is said with approval of Bahrām Čubīn that "he follows none but royal ways, he reads ever the whole *Book of Dimna*".² In view of this remark, and of the scantiness of written native works of entertainment, it is tempting to suppose that written prose, representing study and effort, remained connected with serious and practical matters down to the end of the Sasanian period, and that its limited use for stories was belated, and inspired by translations of foreign works, introducing a new fashion into Persia.³

Be this as it may, it seems that there existed in Persia down to the Arabic conquest a twofold literary culture. On the one hand, there was a written prose, of foreign inception and official adoption, which was used largely for practical purposes and was slow to extend its range. This written prose was enshrined in a difficult script. On the other hand, there was a native, unwritten poetry, generally cultivated and covering a wide field. This appears to have been largely imaginative and evocative, and to have been linked invariably

¹ Daulatšāh, ed. Browne, p. 30. On the material to be derived from a partial reconstruction of 'Unsurī's version, see M. Shafī, "Unsurī's *Wāmiq wa 'Adhrā*," *Proceedings of the XXIIIrd International Congress of Orientalists* (ed. D. Sinor, Cambridge, 1954), pp. 160-61.

² *Šāhnāme*, 43, 97.

³ It is interesting to see how this fashion was exploited by the sugaring of the Machiavellian *Letter of Tansar*, a fine specimen of didactic court-treatise, with fables of Indian origin (see *Asia Major*, n.s., v (1955), pp. 50-8).

with music. It is possibly this link which served to keep it so sharply distinct from the prose. The sixth century saw evidently a considerable widening of the application of writing, and it is clear that her own intellectual development, together with influences from abroad, were at this time thrusting Persia towards a more embracing literacy. The introduction of the Arabic alphabet plainly hastened this process.

In the eighth century a number of Middle Persian works were translated into Arabic; and the total absence of verse-texts among them is even more striking than the preponderance of prose-texts in the ninth-century Pahlavi books. At that time there existed little written Arabic verse or prose, so that one can hardly attribute to the alien culture any influence over the choice of which to translate. It is a fair assumption, therefore, that in translating a large and varied selection of prose-works, but none in verse, Ibnū'l Muqaffa' and his fellows were simply continuing their native tradition, in which prose alone was written.¹ They were evidently scholars, men of books; and it is quite possible that the unwritten Persian poetry did not even enter their purview as matter for consideration.

Disregard by the early post-conquest scholars was plainly not enough in itself to kill the old minstrel-poetry. The resemblance has been remarked between Bārbad and the blind Samanid poet, Rūdakī,² who still in the tenth century composed in the old extempore tradition, to a stringed instrument. Stylistic resemblances between the *Yādgar ī Zarērān* and the *Šāhnāme* suggest that specimens of the old epic poetry were known in the north-east down to Firdausi's day, surviving there probably in unbroken oral continuity. Further, some of the old minstrel-poems came to be written down, probably during the late eighth or ninth centuries—after the work of the early translators, that is, and during the formation of the great collections of Zoroastrian Pahlavi texts. Some, like the *Yādgar* itself, were evidently preserved in the interests of the Zoroastrian church; others, like *Vīs u Rāmīn*, seem likely to have owed their recording to secular patronage. In the preface

¹ See F. Gabrieli, "L'opera di Ibn al Muqaffa'," *RSO.*, xiii (1931-2), pp. 197-247. It is interesting to note that the innovator Abān al-Lāhiqī, himself a "poet", went no further than rendering Persian *prose* works into Arabic verse (see Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 119).

² See Browne, *JRAS.*, 1899, pp. 61-9; *Lit. Hist.*, i, pp. 15-17, 455-8.

to his version of this poem, Gurgānī states that the story was generally known and loved in the land (*dar īn kišvar hame kas dāradaš dūst*),¹ and was familiar to him from a compilation made by six wise men (*zi gird-āvarde-yi šeš mard-i dānā 'st*).² This compilation was in Pahlavi (*pahlavī bāšad zabānaš*),³ and was presumably made some considerable time before Gurgānī's own day, since he refers to the compilers as being "of yore" (*pīšīn*).⁴ In the eleventh century it was used for the study of Pahlavi (*dar īn iqlīm ān daftar be-xwānand bedān tā pahlavī az vai be-dānand*).⁵ An obvious interpretation of these statements is that the written version of the story was put together by scholars at an early date, perhaps a couple of hundred years or so before Gurgānī's time, from the recitations of various minstrels. This would account for the wide popular currency of the poem (presumably not wholly dependent, even in the eleventh century, on the written version), the part played in its preservation by a group of scholars, and the anonymity of its authorship, which is a characteristic of oral poems containing traditional matter, recreated by successive generations of singers.⁶ It seems likely that it was as a minstrel-poem that *Vis u Rāmīn* was known to Abū Nuwās in the eighth century.⁷

The very fact that some minstrel-poems came to be recorded sets, however, a further problem. At about this same time—the late eighth and early ninth centuries—a part of the old Arab oral poetry was written down, to serve as a quarry for historian and grammarian, and to remain as one of the most treasured sections of Arabic literature. Possibly it was this activity, even, which prompted the parallel recording of Persian oral poems. But once some of the latter had been set down, why did they, unlike the Arabic poems, vanish away again? Difficulties of script, or the

¹ *Vis u Rāmīn*, ed. Minovi, p. 26⁴.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26⁵.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 26⁷.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27⁵.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26¹³. Minorsky (*BSOAS.*, xi (1946), pp. 743–4) has interpreted Gurgānī's puzzling use of the word *fārsī* (p. 27⁷) to mean that his source was in Persian (i.e. in Arabic script); and he dates this therefore, tentatively, to round about A.D. 950. It is difficult to see, however, how this interpretation can be reconciled with Gurgānī's clear statements that his original was in Pahlavi.

⁶ On the question of the anonymity of oral poetry see C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London, 1952), pp. 404–9. Clearly those minstrels have the best chance to be remembered by name who flourish, like Bārbad, towards the end of an oral tradition, or who, like Angares, have their names recorded by a foreign observer.

⁷ See M. Minovi, *Yakī az Fārsiyyāt-i Abū Nuwās*, *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres*, Univ. de Téhéran, i, 3 (1954), pp. 76–7.

superior prestige of Arabic, seem only partial explanations; and the true cause appears rather to lie in the development of Persian poetry, and in the drastic change in literary taste which took place after the conquest.

In this connection Gurgānī's further comments on his Pahlavi source are of considerable interest. This text was, admittedly, a scholarly compilation, which may well have lost much of its minstrel fire and vigour; but it was recorded apparently as verse, and as verse Gurgānī judges it and finds it sadly wanting. The story he considers charming, however much obscured by its Pahlavi dress¹; but its versification moves him to declare that "poetry then was not a profession" (*ke āngāh šā'irī pīše na būd ast*).² Would, he says, that the six men were still alive, that they might see "how speech is now produced, how meaning is elucidated, and how metre and rhymes are imposed upon it" (*ke aknūn mī suzan čūn āfirīnand, Ma'ānī-rā čigūne bar gušādand, bar ū vazn u qavāfī čūn nihādand*).³ He repeats this criticism by implication more than once. "When speech has metre and rhymes, it is better than when it is arranged haphazardly" (*suzan-rā čūn buvad vazn u qavāfī, nikūtar zānke paimūde guzāfī*)⁴; and "however delightful and sweet the story, it becomes new-adorned through metre and rhyme" (*fasāne garēe bāšad na'yz u šīrīn, be vazn u qāfiye gardad nau-ā'īn*).⁵ The substance of his criticism of the old poem is, in short, that it was unmetrical and lacked rhyme. Very similar criticisms were made about a century later by 'Aufī of Bārbad's work, how preserved he does not state. Of it he says: "In the time of Parwēz, the royal songs (*navā-yi xusravānī*) composed by Barbad were many; but they are remote from verse-metre, rhyme, and the observance of poetical congruities, for which reason we have not concerned ourselves to discuss them."⁶ This harsh judgment is reflected in an entry in the *Burhān-i Qāṭi* under *xusravānī*: "*xusravānī* is the name of a melody (*laḥnī*) among those composed by Bārbad, and it is in prose, rhythmical prose comprising invocation and eulogy of the king, and verse is not used in it at all." Presumably it was through the accumulation of such judgments, and the neglect of time, that it

¹ *Vīs u Rāmīn*, p. 26⁵⁻⁷.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26¹⁰.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 26¹¹⁻¹².

⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 15 (with variant *paimūde*, for printed *paimūdan*, supplied verbally by Professor Minovi).

⁵ *Ibid.*, l. 17.

⁶ *Lubābu'l-Albāb*, ed. Browne, i, p. 20; see Browne, *JRAS.*, 1899, pp. 55-6.

came about that in the fifteenth century Daulatšāh, eager to establish the existence of pre-Islamic Persian poetry, could find no material surviving on which to build a serious case.

That pre-conquest poetry existed is nevertheless a cause which has not lacked modern champions¹; but some, moved either by the critical judgments of these early Persian writers, or by the corrupt state of the few Middle Persian poems identified in Pahlavi script, have been led to form a very low opinion of its quality. Edward Browne, writing at the end of the last century,² esteemed Bārbad's poems on the level of popular ballads, as evanescent as the doggerel *tašnīfs* of a later day; and more recently the late J. C. Tavadia, who himself contributed notably to our knowledge of Sasanian poetry, held that its growth had been stunted by the attitude of the Zoroastrian church,³ and that it had never been able to develop beyond a "rude and primitive" stage.⁴ Such beliefs are plainly incompatible, however, with the widespread popularity of minstrelsy before the conquest, its achievements in creating and transmitting poetry, and the power of the court-minstrel over the king. The Sasanian court was hardly a place where crude and hasty improvisation would win honour and influence.

The key to the problem has been put into our hands this century by the discovery of Middle Persian verse-texts among the Manichæan material from Central Asia. The oldest of these were composed in the Sasanian period, and are preserved in a clear script and by an excellent scribal tradition. Various devices, such as regular punctuation, an elaborate use of abecedarian acrostics, and even occasionally the setting out of the text in verse-lines, serve to mark the poetic structure; and though much remains to explore in the versification, certain general characteristics have by now been established.⁵ These substantiate, broadly speaking, the

¹ A notable example is J. Darmesteter (see his *Les origines de la poésie persane*, Paris, 1887, pp. 1-3), who wrote before any of the discoveries of Middle Persian verse in this century.

² See his article, *JRAS.*, 1899, p. 61.

³ See his *Indo-Iranian Studies*, I (Bombay, 1950), pp. 45-6.

⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 88; and cf. his "A Rhymed Ballad in Pahlavi", *JRAS.*, 1955, p. 29. J. C. Coyajee (in "The House of Gotarzes", *JASB.*, 1932), also speaks repeatedly of pre-Islamic ballads and ballad-mongers (see pp. 208, 209, 224).

⁵ See W. B. Henning, "The Disintegration of the Avestic Studies," *Trans. Philological Society*, 1942, pp. 51-6; "A Pahlavi Poem," *BSOAS.*, xiii (1950), pp. 641-8; Boyce, *The Manichæan Hymn-Cycles in Parthian* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 45-59.

criticisms of 'Auffi and Gurgānī. Middle Persian verse, as represented in these texts, although embracing a subtle variety of metres, appears in comparison with the quantitative classical Persian verse to be uniformly rough and irregular. It is governed evidently by stress, without regard for quantity, and the number of unstressed syllables varies from line to line. And there is no rhyme. Written down, and without its accompanying music,¹ this poetry is apt to seem considerably more like rhythmic prose than like verse.

Knowledge of these Manichæan texts has enabled a new examination of the Middle Persian texts in Pahlavi script, and these prove to have the same underlying metrical principles. Since they include the heroic fragment *Yādgār ī Zarērān*, and the riddle-poem *Draxt ī Asūrīg*, it is safe to assume that the secular as well as the sacred verse of the Sasanian period was composed in this convention.

Here then is plainly the second main cause for the loss of the old minstrel-poetry, namely that it was composed in a convention which, with the development of new types of versification under Arabic influence, came to fall wholly out of favour. After the conquest Persian poets came gradually to compose in Arabic,² and eventually to reshape their native metres on the new models. Probably among the sophisticated taste developed quickly for the sweetness and elegance of the new verse; and the old poetry must have continued longest in circulation among those least touched by the alien culture—the patriotic, the stubbornly Zoroastrian, the poorer members of the community—suffering, as soon as it came to be neglected by the wealthiest and most influential patrons, an inevitable decline through loss of talent. Nevertheless, as late as the eleventh or early twelfth centuries, a Persian poet was able to set Bārbad on a level with Rūdakī, as bringing undying fame to the house he had served³:

"From all the treasures hoarded by the Houses of Sasan and of Saman, in our days

Nothing survives except the song of Bārbad,⁴ nothing is left save Rūdagi's sweet lays."

¹ For some remarks on this vanished music, based largely on cantilated Turfan texts, see A. Machabey, "La cantillation manichéenne," *La Revue Musicale*, No. 227 (Paris, 1955), pp. 5-20.

² See Browne, *Lit. Hist.*, i, pp. 446-7, 474-7.

³ See Nizāmī-i 'Arūqī, *Chahār Maqāle*, *Gibb Mem. Series*, text, p. 27; transl., p. 29.

⁴ *navā-yi bārbad māndast u dastān.*

Plainly minstrel-poetry was admired for generations after the conquest, possibly for as long as it was worthily sung, and not lamely recited or read from books.¹ Equally plainly it fell gradually into neglect. What was not written—and that must have been the bulk—was forgotten; what was written perished, or, in the case of *Vīs u Rāmīn*, was refashioned to suit a later taste. The result in all cases was the same: the minstrel-poems disappeared.

A close parallel to this development exists in England, where the old unrhymed irregular Anglo-Saxon verse was abandoned, after the Norman conquest, in favour of rhymed French metres, with the consequent loss of almost all the old secular poetry, which, with a few exceptions, appears to have remained oral in England too until that date. In both countries, moreover, an intermediate development shows itself, in which the old stress-metres were modified by the use of rhyme. In England we have Layamon's *Brut*. In Persia two Zoroastrian poems have been identified, one of them indisputably post-conquest,² both of which have simple end-rhyme wedded to lines with stress-metre and a varying number of syllables. This hybrid versification has no literary descendants in Persia; but many examples have been noticed, as late as the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, of local and dialect poetry, circulating

¹ Daulatšāh's comment on Rūdakī's famous poem on the Jū-yī Mūliyān, sung by him to the harp (see his *Tadhkiratu-š-Šu'arā*, ed. Browne, p. 32) is so pertinent that it seems justifiable to quote it again here. I use Browne's translation (*JRAS.*, 1899, pp. 68-9): " . . . the verses are extremely simple . . . and if in these days anyone were to produce such a poem in the presence of kings or nobles, it would meet with the reprobation of all. It is, however, probable that as Master Rudagi possessed the completest knowledge of harmony and music in that country, he may have composed some tune or air, and produced this poem of his in the form of a song with musical accompaniment, and that it was in this way that it obtained so favourable a reception. In short, we must not lightly esteem Master Rudagi merely on account of this poem, for assuredly he was expert in all manner of arts and accomplishments, and has produced good poetry of several kinds . . . for he was a man of great distinction, and admired by high and low."

² See W. B. Henning, "A Pahlavi Poem," *BSOAS.*, xiii (1950), pp. 641-8; J. C. Tavadia, "A Rhymed Ballad in Pahlavi," *JRAS.*, 1955, pp. 29-36. The latter poem contains a reference to the Arabic conquest, also "traces of N.Pers. usage in the vocabulary, and even some Arabic words" (Tavadia, p. 29). The *terminus ante quem* of the former appears to be A.D. 956 (Henning, p. 648, n. 2); there is nothing in the contents to date it more closely, but Henning (p. 648) points out that "the rhythm would perhaps improve, if one put more modern forms into the text, in place of the conventional heavy-vowelled Middle Persian forms". Professor Henning has now kindly drawn my attention also to the "Song of Karkōy", rhymed but not quantitative, preserved in the *Tārix-i Sīstān*, ed. Malik aš-Šu'arā Bahār, Tehran, 1314/1935, p. 37.

orally and linked with music, which appear to be developments of it.¹ In this late poetry the lines have tended to become more approximately regular, so that observers have sometimes been tempted to attribute the fluctuation in the number of syllables to clumsiness rather than to convention.

These surviving schools of oral poetry appear, at the time when they were recorded, to have reached various stages of impoverishment. In the thinly populated and arid district of Sabzawar, Ivanow² found many sung poems in circulation, whose authorship was generally unknown. There seems to have been no evidence of professional minstrel-poets, but the technique of composition, with its fixed epithets, standard metaphors and recurring conventions, is in the minstrel-tradition. Ivanow found traces of one long narrative, which appeared to have been known once in verse; but the current poetry was almost purely lyrical, consisting of love-songs and elegies, with the songs of the camelmen forming a special group. Fights, feuds and warfare had no place in the lives or poetry of the somewhat timid peasantry; but topical songs, providing comment on some event, were common. New poems were generally composed for weddings, or important festivals, notably—as in Sasanian times—for the festival of Naurūz; and also, in the more old-fashioned villages, at evening assemblies, where regular contests in poetry would sometimes take place, usually among the young. The usual verse-form was the quatrain, called the *čār-bāytī*. Other forms in use, Ivanow says, “apparently have no general term by which they are known to everybody. As they are rare, each one is known after the first line, by the name of the hero, or after the contents”—in the Middle Persian manner. The poems were always sung, and in the singing the variation in the number of syllables in the lines was “masked”. The tunes varied, a few seeming to Ivanow really beautiful, but most monotonous.

Among the Baxtiari also Lorimer³ appears to have found no professional poets. With them poetry had a wider range, reflecting

¹ To the list of works cited by E. Benveniste, *JA.*, 1932, ii, p. 292, with nn. 2-7, can now be added R. Lescot, *Textes kurdes*, ii (Beyrouth, 1942); D. L. R. Lorimer, “The Popular Verse of the Bakhtiari of S.W. Persia,” *BSOAS.*, xvi (1954), pp. 542-5; ii, xvii (1955), pp. 92-110.

² See W. Ivanow, “Rustic Poetry in the Dialect of Khorasan,” *JASB.*, n.s., xxi (1925), pp. 233-313.

³ See op. cit. (based on material gathered in 1914); cf. also O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme im süd-westlichen Persien* (Berlin, 1910), pp. 74-96.

a bolder and more varied way of life. Lorimer noted historical pieces (referring to tribal fights and feuds), laments, love-poems, satires, wedding and funeral songs and lullabies. As in the Sabzawari songs, fixed epithets appeared and recurring phrases; and also archaic words no longer to be found in daily speech. In spite of a simplicity of matter and thought, many of the songs were highly allusive, and obscure even to their reciters; to Lorimer their quality appeared so poor that he hesitated to give them the name of poetry. The Baxtiari verse seems in fact to have born already, in the second decade of this century, the stamp of a degenerate and dying tradition.

At the end of the nineteenth century Darmesteter¹ had found a better-preserved minstrel tradition among the Afghans. There, although amateur minstrelsy was widespread, and any man might take his *rebâb* and sing, there existed also professional minstrels' schools, where the *ustâd* instructed his disciples, teaching them his own and traditional poems, and taking them with him to assemblies to master the techniques of their calling. These professional poets were mostly, but not exclusively, drawn from the *dum*-caste. The types of Afghan poetry included love-poems, religious and historical ballads, legends, political comment. Darmesteter found the poems simple, vigorous, limited in ideas and interests, but with a force and freshness of their own. The oral poetry of the Baluchis, collected at the beginning of this century by M. Longworth-Dames, appears very similar to that of the Afghans; but there is a striking difference in its cultivation, in that the *dloms* of Baluchistan were not themselves poets, but sang only the compositions of others. The poets were almost all Baluchis, too proud to be public performers. Their names are preserved with their songs.²

Among the Kurds Mann³ found at the beginning of this century an organized minstrelsy similar to that of the Afghans, with schools presided over by the *wâstâ* (*ustâd*) from whom his disciples learnt orally. A diligent pupil would sometimes attach himself to several teachers in succession, thus acquiring a large repertoire of poems; and Mann comments on the wonderful powers of memory of some of these men, which appeared to be wholly linked with song, and apt

¹ *Chants populaires des Afghans* (Paris, 1888-1890), pp. cxcī-ccxv.

² *Popular Poetry of the Baloches* (London, 1907), pp. xvi-xxxviii.

³ See O. Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden* (Berlin, 1906), pp. xxvii-xxx; and cf. also Bagrat Chalathianz, "Kurdische Sagen," *Zeitschrift d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, xv (1905), pp. 322-330; xvi (1906), pp. 35-46, 402-414.

to fail under the artificial conditions of dictation. The minstrels practised their art in the houses of the khans, and also among the villages and in the little towns; and their repertoire included songs covering all their nomadic way of life, as with the Baxtiari. Less than half a century later, however, Lescot¹ found no trace of Kurdish minstrel-schools or of a true professional minstrelsy. The poet attached to the khan's house was a figure of the past, a victim, no doubt, of gramophone and wireless; and Lescot worked with coffee-house entertainers and amateurs with a fragmentary repertoire, gathering verses of *Mamē Alan* piecemeal from some twenty singers.

None of these late minstrel-traditions appears to preserve material of any great antiquity, although their poems can, of course, be dated only from external evidence. Some of the oldest Baluchi historical ballads date from the sixteenth century,² the Afghan from the eighteenth.³ The Kurdish *Mamē Alan* is probably older by several centuries, allusions having been traced in it to persons of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴ No date has been assigned to the Baxtiari historical verses. *Šāhnāme* stories circulate among Kurds and Baxtiaris, but these are evidently derived from written sources. Although their content is relatively modern, these local schools of minstrelsy⁵ can boast a long literary lineage, coming as

¹ op. cit.

² See Longworth-Dames, op. cit., pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.

³ See Darmesteter, op. cit., pp. 1-5.

⁴ See Lescot, op. cit., pp. vi-vii. It is, of course, possible that parts of the story go back to an earlier date. Lescot's tentative identification of it with the tale of Zariadres and Odisis (pp. xiv-xvii) seems hardly convincing, however.

⁵ The songs of the Armenian *ašuy*, although not strictly relevant to a consideration of Iranian minstrelsy, are yet of interest as representing the development of the Armenian *gusan* tradition. The principal cycle of stories, centring on David of Sassun, is held to go back to the eighth-tenth centuries, to the struggle of Christian Armenia with the Arabs. It is interesting, in the light of the fusion of Kayanian and Arsacid legends, to see how this material tends to borrow elements from Persian legend. On this cycle of stories see Artasches Abeghian, "Das armenische Volksepos" (Sonderabdruck, *Mitteil. d. Ausland-Hochschule an der Universität Berlin*, xlii), Berlin, 1940, pp. 225-238; Bagrat Chalathianz, "Die armenische Heldensage," *Zeitschrift d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, xii (1902), pp. 138-144, 264-271, 391-402; on the professional minstrel-tradition see Archag Tchobanian, *Chants populaires arméniens*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1903, pp. lxxx-lxxxii; B. Chalathianz, loc. cit., pp. 139-140, with some interesting remarks on amateur recitation among peasants (*ibid.*, pp. 141-2), which appear to preserve traces of the old, unrhymed Armenian verse, with uneven number of syllables, which was similar to the old Iranian metres; see the examples gathered by L. H. Gray, "Les mètres païens de l'Arménie," *Revue des études arméniennes*, vi (1926), pp. 159-167; and also the old Armenian hymns, on which see F. Nève, *Les hymnes funébres de l'église arménienne traduites sur le texte arménien du charagan*, Louvain, 1855 (extrait de la *Revue catholique*, x (août-déc., 1855).

they do at the end of a tradition attested over two and a half millennia. They have survived in each case among poor communities, dwelling isolated in arid or mountainous country, and with a restricted intellectual and artistic life. However interesting their products, it is plain that they cannot be taken as providing any adequate measure for the old Iranian minstrel-poetry, created by minstrels numbering among them the finest poets and musicians in a rich and flourishing land, who served with honour in the courts of its princes.

THE DATING OF THE QUR'ĀN : A REVIEW OF RICHARD BELL'S THEORIES

BY W. MONTGOMERY WATT

THE APPEARANCE OF Richard Bell's *Introduction to the Qur'ān*¹ is a suitable occasion for considering the general principles underlying the detailed dating of the Qur'ān in his translation. This leads on to the question of the extent to which even approximate dates can be assigned to the various sections, and also to an estimate of advances to be expected in this branch of Qur'ānic studies. Bell's work further raises questions of interpretation, but these are not discussed here except in so far as they bear on the dating.

Underlying Bell's system of dating are two general principles. Since these are a convenient focus for discussion, it will be well to begin with a formulation of them. They are :

(1) *The normal unit of revelation is the short passage.*

(2) *The text was "revised" by Muḥammad himself.*

These principles are fundamental to all the chronological side of his work. Indeed, if they are sound, and if it is possible to apply them in detail to an appreciable extent, they must be fundamental to all future work on the dating of the Qur'ān.

A third principle has greatly influenced the external appearance of Bell's translation, namely :

(3) *The passages were, at least sometimes, committed to writing.*

This is held by Bell to be necessary to explain the *order* of various passages ; but it is seldom, if ever, directly relevant to the dating.

About the first of these principles there is, in a sense, wide agreement among both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars. Traditional Muslim accounts of the "occasions of revelation" often refer to short passages containing only a verse or two, and this is reflected in the headings of the sūrahs in the official Egyptian edition, where sūrah 9, for example, is described as "Medinan, except the last two verses which are Meccan". Nöldeke likewise recognized that some sūrahs contained passages belonging to different dates, and most non-Muslim scholars, without considering the matter in detail, have accepted this point of view. Régis Blachère, in his chronological arrangement of the sūrahs in his translation, goes so far as to split up some of the sūrahs and to date the sections separately.

¹ Edinburgh University Press, 1953.

So, it would be generally agreed that the Qur'ānic revelations frequently consisted of short passages. There would be room for discussion, however, whether the whole, or nearly the whole, of the Qur'ān was made up of short passages, or whether the unit of revelation was not sometimes a nearly complete sūrah. There are some sūrahs that possess a formal unity, and look as if they had each been revealed as a piece. This formal unity is exemplified in one way by the story of Joseph in sūrah 12, and in another way by the parallel stories of former prophets, with similarities of wording, which are found in a number of sūrahs, such as 11 and 54. It seems clear, then, that not all the Qur'ān consists of short passages, but that sometimes long passages constituted a single revelation.

The existence of long passages seems to be admitted by Bell. Yet, taking as his basis the principle that the short passage was the normal unit of revelation, he has gone much further than any other student of the Qur'ān in attempting to identify and date the original units of revelation. In the course of this attempt he has been led to propound some additional theories about the original form of the revelations, and the way in which they assumed their present shape. His second main principle, namely, that "revision" took place, is relevant here, but it may be left aside meantime. Apart from that Bell's suggestions may be divided into two groups.

(a) Firstly, he held that the short passages of the original revelations consisted of several different types.¹ One important type in the earliest days was the "sign-passage", that is, a short passage citing various natural phenomena as evidences of God's power and goodness; and this type continued to appear in later days also. Another type is the punishment-story, that is, an account of the punishment of a tribe or community which rejected the message of the prophet sent to them. Yet another type is what Bell calls the "slogan". By this he means a short statement usually introduced by the word "Say", and he thinks these "slogans" were designed to be repeated by Muḥammad's followers. Then there was a type of passage reminiscent of the Arab *Kāhin* or soothsayer, which contained a number of oaths forming a jingle, but without much sense. From this Bell distinguishes asseverative passages, where the oaths had a bearing on what was to be asserted. He

¹ Cf. *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, 115 f.

also speaks of "when'-passages" containing descriptions of the Last Judgment, of dramatic scenes, of narratives and parables (pp. 74-8).

In addition to all these types Bell gives a description of what is not so much a separate type of passage as a general form of paragraph which might be found in more than one type. He gives 49.13 as an example and then remarks :

"Here, following the address, we have an indication of the subject that has called for treatment, then comes a declaration regarding it, and finally the passage is closed by a sententious maxim. This form is found not only in passages with direct address, but in a multitude of others. They begin by stating their occasion ; a question has been asked, the unbelievers have said or done something, something has happened, or some situation has arisen. The matter is dealt with shortly, in usually not more than three or four verses ; at the end comes a general statement, often about Allah, which rounds off the passage."

These short pieces of various kinds Bell supposes to have circulated independently. In his propaganda, he thinks, Muḥammad from the earliest times made use of slogans (p. 75). Similarly, "sign"-passages were one of the means that he adopted at all stages of his career in order to appeal to men, while punishment stories, which seem to have had a separate existence (p. 121), were used to inspire men with fear and thereby soften their hearts to accept the message.

In all this conception of types of short passages there is little that could not be generally accepted. The novelty in Bell's view is the thought, implicit rather than explicit, that the different types had different functions. Some were for persuading possible converts, some for repetition by Muslims facing opponents, some for use in worship, and so on. This is an attractive idea and would bear further study.

(b) The second group of suggestions made by Bell as he works out his first basic principle (that the normal unit of revelation is the short piece) has as its centre the view that Muḥammad himself put together short pieces to make a longer composition. From the standpoint taken by both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars this is much more of an innovation. Yet reflection tends to justify it. The traditional standpoint seems to rest on assumptions that have not been carefully scrutinized. Though it has commonly been admitted that short passages were often revealed separately, the

implications of this admission have not been worked out; and it has been supposed that in many cases whole sūrahs, or large parts of sūrahs, were revealed at once, and that the fitting together of separate passages could be ascribed to those who "collected" the Qur'ān after Muḥammad's death.

If, however, the short passages are the general rule and the long passages are the exceptions, then it would be strange that the "collectors" should group together what Muḥammad left as separate items. It would have been more natural to treat each separate passage as a separate sūrah. Even if the "collectors" are responsible for only a little grouping of passages, they doubtless had some precedent for it. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Muḥammad himself was responsible for combining separate revelations into sūrahs. The challenge in 11.13/16 to produce ten sūrahs would seem to imply that more than ten sūrahs were then extant. These might conceivably have been sūrahs consisting of single short passages, like some of the sūrahs at the end of the Qur'ān as we have it. Since nearly all the sūrahs in the present Qur'ān are composite sūrahs, however, it seems more likely that the reference is to sūrahs of this kind, and that therefore separate revelations had been combined into sūrahs by Muḥammad himself.

The tendency to ascribe all combinations of separate revelations to "collectors" and not to Muḥammad is perhaps connected with the desire of orthodox Islam to safeguard the miraculous nature of the Qur'ān by insisting that Muḥammad could neither read nor write. Yet, even on the view that Muḥammad was illiterate in this sense, he may still be credited with combining separate passages. He could either have relied solely on memory, since to remember a group of passages together would be no more difficult than to remember separate passages; or he may have employed amanuenses to write down the composite sūrahs.

It ought to be assumed that, if Muḥammad combined separate revelations in this way, he did so because he believed it was in accordance with the command of God. With the exception of one passage to be discussed presently, there is no explicit command to this effect. The Qur'ān seems to imply, however, that the revelations constituted a unity, though they "came down" separately; and thus the work of combining them would be simply the restoration of the original unity (cf. 17.106/107).

The one passage that might be taken to be a command to combine

separate revelations is the opening of sūrah 73, especially the words *rattilī'l-qur'ān^a tartīl^{an}*. The usual Muslim interpretation of this is that it prescribes leisurely cantillation or chanting in measure. The basic application of *rattila*, however, seems to be to front teeth, and it means that they are even in growth and well set together. The word is also used metaphorically of a thing that is well arranged or disposed, and this metaphorical use predominates in the second stem. For *rattala'l-kalām* Lane gives the meaning "he put together and arranged well the component parts of the speech, or saying, and made it distinct". It would therefore seem that 73.4 may originally have been taken to refer to the combining of separate fragments of revelation. The only other instance of the word in the Qur'ān (25.32/34), where God says *rattalnā-hu tartīl^{an}* has been much discussed by commentators; it is noteworthy that the Muslim Pickthall translates "We have arranged it in right order".

Bell gives sūrah 80 as an example of a composite sūrah which has been put together, he thinks, by Muḥammad. It consists of five distinct passages, but they "are so arranged that we can follow a line of thought binding them together", and thus "form more or less of a unity".¹

In Muḥammad's work of combining short pieces into larger units, Bell thinks he was guided by certain ideas, and that these changed from time to time. Apart from an early period before Muḥammad began to combine separate pieces, there are two main periods in his activity, the Qur'ān period and the Book period. In the Qur'ān period Muḥammad's aim was to produce passages suitable for recitation in the course of the *ṣalāt* or worship. This period therefore begins "about the same time as the institution of the *ṣalāt*, at any rate after Muḥammad had gained some adherents".² Not all the separate passages already existing, however, were immediately incorporated into the Qur'ān. In 15.87 we read: "We have bestowed upon thee seven of the *mathānī* and the mighty Qur'ān." Especially if the *mathānī* are identified with the punishment stories, as Bell, following Sprenger and others, has argued, this verse will imply that parts of the present Qur'ān were not included in it when that verse was revealed. This would be in keeping with the distinct functions of the various types of short passages. For these longer compositions consisting of several

¹ *Translation*, 635; *Introduction*, 131.

² *Introduction*, 130.

short passages the term *sūrah* was introduced, in Bell's view, some time during the Qur'ān period. He is further inclined to think "that the Qur'ān was definitely closed about the time of the battle of Badr" (p. 132), but realizes that the evidence for this is slender.

It is clear, however, that the idea of the Qur'ān as a collection of passages for recitation in public or private worship was superseded in Muḥammad's mind by the idea of a Book, that is, of written Scriptures comparable to those of the Jews and Christians. There are numerous references to the Book in the Qur'ān. The aim was doubtless to include in the Book all the revealed material extant, whether it had hitherto been used for recitation in worship or not. The Book was thus more extensive than the Qur'ān, as the latter term was first used, but in course of time the two came to be regarded as identical. The principles on which separate pieces were combined to form *sūrahs* were doubtless the same for the Qur'ān and the Book, except that greater length might perhaps be allowed in the Book.

These, then, are the lines on which Bell works out his first main principle.

The second main principle is more revolutionary and likely to provoke opposition. It is that Muḥammad himself, in the course of combining separate pieces into *sūrahs*—and possibly also at other times—did some editing or "revising". This is contrary to the common idea that he merely recorded those contents of his consciousness which, somehow or other, he recognized as revelations. Yet the idea of a "revision" of the Qur'ān by way of additions—and perhaps also of deletions, though there is no direct evidence of these—is not necessarily contrary to orthodox Muslim beliefs. Orthodoxy accepts the fact of "abrogation", that is, the cancelling of certain prescriptions and their replacement by others. Thus 73.20 is usually taken as abrogating the obligation to spend part of the night in prayer which is laid down at the beginning of the *sūrah*. The basis of abrogation is presumably that what was good and edifying for the Muslim community at one period is not necessarily so at another. Now the same could hold of additions to the text. Thus—to take an example which Bell does not indicate as a revision—5.51/56 might originally have run: "O ye who have believed, do not choose Jews as friends; they are friends to each other; whoever makes friends is one of them." This

would be perfectly appropriate in the period between Badr and Uhud when the verse is said to have been revealed. The words "and Christians", which occur after "Jews" in the present text would at that period have been inappropriate, since the Muslims in Medina had practically no contacts with Christians, while some of Muḥammad's early followers were on good terms with the Negus of Abyssinia. It was only in the closing years of Muḥammad's life when he was trying to detach Ghassān and their neighbours from the Byzantine allegiance that the words "and Christians" would have a point. If abrogation took place, then there would seem to be no reason why "revision" of this type should not take place, since it involved no change of principle, but merely the extension of an existing principle to new circumstances. Indeed, something very like "revision" of this kind is implied by 16.101/103: "When We substitute one verse for another—God knoweth best what He revealeth—they say, 'Thou art simply an inventor.'" The possibility of the deletion of verses or parts of verses seems to be implied by references to Muḥammad's being caused to forget by God (87.7; cf. 2.106/100). It may be concluded, then, that from the standpoint of Muslim orthodoxy there are no insuperable objections to Bell's conception of "revision", though an attitude of conservative distrust would be only natural. The psychologically-minded modern scholar may like to suppose that Muḥammad had some method of "listening for guidance" where he thought a passage required revision. If we accept his sincerity, he cannot be regarded as "revising" passages except in so far as he believed he had divine authority for doing so. It is almost certain that no one other than Muḥammad would have presumed to make such "revisions".

Bell considers that there are a number of formal characteristics—"roughnesses" of style—that enable us to recognize revisions and alterations (83 ff.). Sometimes it is possible to remove the rhyme-phrases of a passage and to leave a series of verses with a different rhyme. In such cases Bell argues that the secondary rhyme-phrases have been added to adapt the passage to its place in the sūrah. Further signs of revision are abrupt changes of rhyme, repetition of a rhyme-word in adjoining verses, breaks in grammatical construction, abrupt changes in the length of verses, sudden changes of the dramatic situation with changes of pronoun, the appearance of seemingly contradictory statements side by side, the juxtaposition

of passages of different dates, and the occurrence of late phrases in earlier passages. He also considers that in many cases explanations of a word or phrase, and reservations introduced by *illā*, "except," are later additions. Where a subject is treated in a somewhat different way in neighbouring verses, revision is to be suspected. It can sometimes be made to seem probable, too, that a passage has had alternative continuations, and that these simply follow one another in the present text. Many examples of all these features will be found in Bell's translation.

Another sign of revision is connected with Bell's third principle, the existence of written documents. It frequently happens that an extraneous subject is found in a passage that is apparently meant to be homogeneous. This phenomenon, Bell suggests, is to be explained by supposing that the extraneous material stood on a scrap of writing material, that the addition was written on the back of this, and that, when the addition was copied out in its proper place, the extraneous material on the other side was copied out also and made to follow.

This, then, is the theoretical basis of Bell's work on the dating of the passages of the Qur'ān. It is at once obvious that it completely changes the nature of the problem of dating the Qur'ān. It is no longer a question of trying to determine the order in which the sūrah's were revealed, and then assigning dates to a few short passages that are clearly different in date from their context. It has now become a question of dating separately each passage of a few verses. In the case of revisions, a single word even may have a different date from the rest of the verse. The problem of dating the Qur'ān has thus been made much more complex.

In these changed circumstances it is necessary to reconsider Nöldeke's criterion of date, namely, the length of the verses. In this respect the view that the "short pieces" belong to different types is relevant, since it would be only natural for the style to vary with the type of utterance and the function it was intended to perform. As Bell puts it, "style may be deliberately adopted to suit varying ends in view," and "there are, in fact, passages in the Qur'ān which seem to suggest that different styles were used at the same time for different kinds of utterances" (p. 103). This does not mean that the criterion of style is valueless. Bell admits its usefulness up to a point, and often employs it. The criterion of style, however, is insufficient to date a passage accurately; it gives

no more than a rough approximation. Bell is therefore inclined to attach more weight to phraseology. When the introduction of a phrase can be linked with a definite event in Muḥammad's life, it becomes an indication of date.

In the last resort, therefore, the main criterion of date in the Qur'ān is the content of the separate passages. A careful study must be made of the ideas and implications of each passage, and of their relevance to the various phases of Muḥammad's career. In the Meccan period nothing more than the barest outline is possible, but in the Medinan period there are a number of outstanding events, whose date is known, which provide a framework into which original revelations and revisions can be fitted with a fair degree of accuracy. Even in the Medinan period, however, the work of dating is far from simple. Similar passages throughout the Qur'ān have to be laboriously compared with one another in the attempt to detect the growth of conceptions. In the end there will be many points about which the scholar can only say *wa-'llāhu a'lam*.

Up to this point this article has consisted in a sympathetic but partly independent presentation of Richard Bell's theories. It remains to make a critical appraisal of them and of his whole attempt at dating the Qur'ān.

With regard to his first basic principle it would seem that there could be little dispute. At most there might be some divergences in detail. In a sūrah like 54, where there are four punishment stories resembling one another in phraseology, they must have constituted a single whole from the first and cannot have circulated independently of one another. Similarly most of the story of Joseph in sūrah 12 must have existed as a unity from the first. Bell may sometimes seem to have gone too far in breaking up passages into their component parts. For example, in making a division (albeit with hesitation) after 19.36/37, he seems to have failed to notice that verses almost identical with this verse and the next one occur together at 43.64 f. Nevertheless, as a pioneer in the analysis of sūrahs into their original elements he was justified in looking for as many breaks as possible and leaving it to others to correct any exaggerations. However much scholars may differ from Bell's detailed conclusions, it is no longer possible for serious scholars to do other than accept his first basic principle that the normal unit of revelation was the short piece, and its corollary that Muḥammad

was responsible for at least the first stage of combining these pieces into sūrah's.

Much the same may be said about his second basic principle. His particular conclusions are often disputable, but in view of the great mass of detailed evidence for "revision" which is contained in his translation, it must now be accepted that Muḥammad "revised" the revelations to a great extent. These two principles and the subordinate theories are the basis underlying the whole of the dating, and it is difficult to see how any future work on the dating of the Qur'ān can avoid beginning from these principles.

With regard to Bell's third principle of the existence of written documents, some on the back of others, a little scepticism is justified—perhaps not so much with the principle itself as with the contemporary scholar's ability to apply it in detail. Some of Bell's applications of it are convincing, and provide a neat explanation for the appearance of extraneous passages in otherwise homogeneous contexts. Nevertheless to apply the hypothesis as widely as he has done would seem to require a more thorough theoretical justification than can readily be given. Where there are grounds for suspecting revision, Bell tends to look for two passages of equal length, and then to suppose that one was written on the back of the other. But scraps of writing material need not have been exactly filled on one side; some space may have been left on the first side, or the passage may have spilled over to the second side; the writing need not always have been of the same size; and so on. Thus in the application of Bell's third principle there cannot be the same degree of certainty that there is about his first two. In a few cases we may be fairly certain that a certain passage was written on the back of a certain other passage. In most cases, however, even if we suspect that the present order of the text is due to the use of the two sides of the writing material, we cannot with any degree of certainty say what was on the back of what.

It is unfortunate that this hypothesis has had so great an influence on the physical appearance of Bell's translation, since that gives the impression that this document-hypothesis is the central part of Bell's theories about the Qur'ān. One sees that he was justified in trying to work out the hypothesis in the fullest possible detail. Yet one also regrets the prominence it receives, since that obscures the other much more valuable parts of Bell's work. In the long run it will probably be found that his greatest contribution to the study

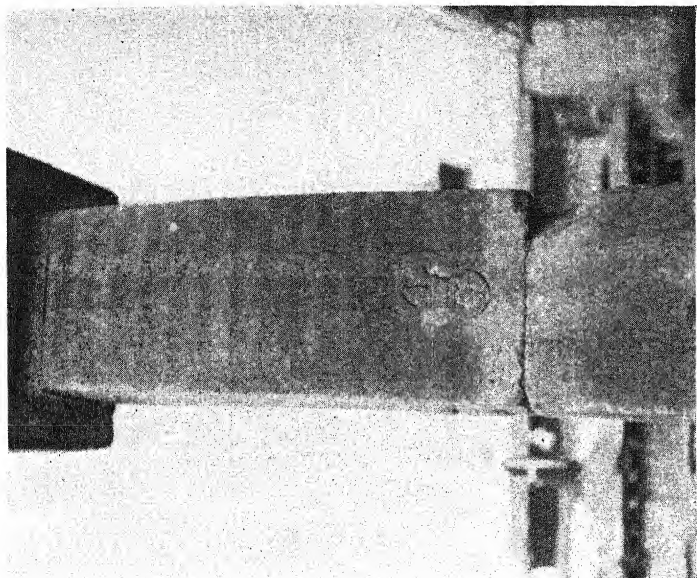
of the Qur'ān, apart from his insistence on the two basic principles, has been his detailed dating of the fragments into which he analyses the sūrahs. This is especially important in the Medinan period, where the dates of many important events are known, so that the revelations can be dated in relation to them.

Along the lines thus pioneered by Bell there is good hope of further advances towards an agreed dating of the Qur'ān. Such advances, however, require a minute examination of the text of the Qur'ān and a laborious comparison of passage with passage. There is over three-quarters of a century between the first edition of Theodor Nöldeke's history and the appearance of Richard Bell's translation, and it may well be as long again before the latter's work is superseded.

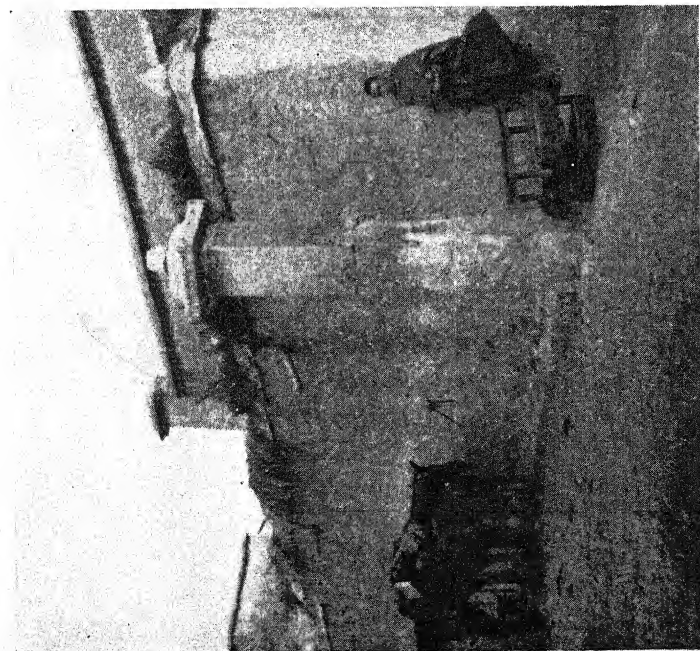
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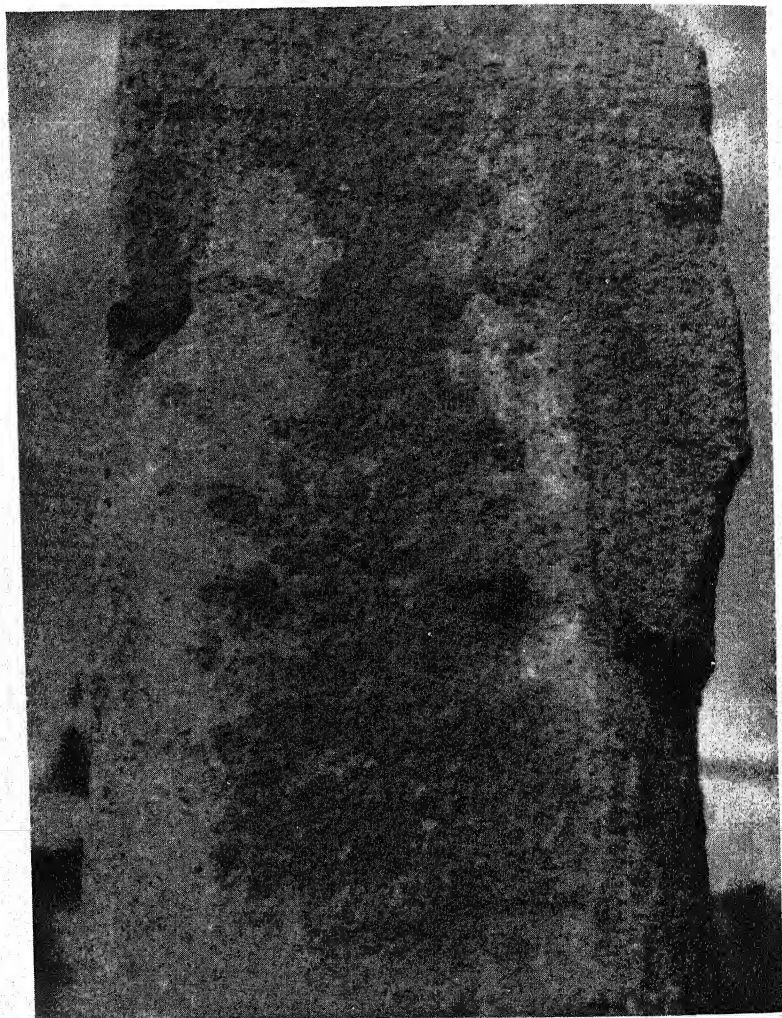
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East face, upper half.



Rgyal Lha-Khai. The pillar from the S.E.



East face, lower half.

A TIBETAN INSCRIPTION FROM RGYAL LHA-KHAÑ; AND A NOTE ON TIBETAN CHRONOLOGY FROM A.D. 841 TO A.D. 1042

BY H. E. RICHARDSON

ACCORDING TO THE *Deb-ther Sñon-po* of Hgos Lo-tsa-ba the *lha-khañ* of Rgyal Lug-lhas in Hphan-po was founded by Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug in A.D. 1012 during the early years of the restoration of Buddhism after its suppression by Glañ-dar-ma. The outline of that revival, known in Tibetan as *Bstan-pa phyi-dar*—the Later Spreading of the Doctrine—is vague and the details scanty and uncertain. From the *Deb-sñon* (*Deb-ther Sñon-po*) it can be gathered that, although in Central Tibet the religion could be practised only in secret, in parts of the kingdom remote from the capital—such as Mña-ris in the west and Khams in the east—there remained communities of Buddhist teachers untouched by the persecution.

There is one tradition, connected with the name of Rin-chen-bzañ-po, that the *Bstan-pa phyi-dar* began in the West; and the *Ladakḥ Rgyal-rabs* describes Glañ-dar-ma's descendants, beginning with his son Hhod-sruñs (Hhod-sruñ) whose grandson established several kingly families in West Tibet, as supporters of Buddhism. It was one of this family who later invited the Pandit Atiśa from India. On the other hand, Buddhism in Eastern Tibet is said to have been reinforced and stimulated by the Three Learned Men of Tibet—*Bod-kyi mkhas-pa mi gsum*—who fled from Dbus to A-mdo during the persecution by Glañ-dar-ma. Their first pupil was Blachen-po Dge-ba-gsal who later became a famous teacher and established a line of disciples many of whom took part in restoring religion to Central Tibet. It is said that the Three Learned Men made their way first to Mña-ris before reaching A-mdo. That story may be intended to bridge the claims of the west and those of the east to have started the revival; but it seems most probable that it was the eastern reservoir of Buddhism which in due course provided the first wave of missionaries; and Hgos recounts how teachers from Khams found their way to Central Tibet and gradually succeeded in building many *lha-khañ* in the sixty-four years before the coming of Atiśa—that is to say from about A.D. 978 onwards. Chief among these teachers were Klu-mes Śes-rab-tshul-khrims and Sum-pa Ye-śes-blos-gros who had originally gone, with eight

others, from Dbus and Gtsañ into Khams where they were ordained and whence they later returned to spread the Doctrine in their homeland. One group of the followers of Klu-mes, known as the Four Pillars, included Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug, the founder of Rgyal Lug-lhas. Tradition seeks to link these men of Dbus and Gtsañ backwards with the Three Learned Men through Bla-chen-po and forwards with Atiśa through Sum-pa who is said to have been alive when the Pandita arrived in Tibet. But Hgos Lo-tsa-ba, exceptionally careful for a Tibetan historian, is cautious about accepting these traditions and candidly admits doubts and difficulties about the chronology of the period. From a number of his calculations relating to Chinese history the date when the *Deb-sñon* was written can be fixed as A.D. 1478. Working back from that date Hgos puts the coming of Atiśa in A.D. 1042 which, from other considerations too, is acceptable. On the basis of the Chinese records used by him for the chronology of the first book of his history the date of Glan-dar-ma's suppression of Buddhism clearly falls in A.D. 841. But when Hgos, in his second book, examines Tibetan traditions about that event and tries to reconcile them with his date for the coming of Atiśa a whole cycle of sixty years seems to go astray so that his later chronology implies that the suppression of Buddhism was in A.D. 901.

This confusion has been examined by Dr. G. Roerich in the introduction to his edition of the *Deb-sñon* (*RASB Monograph Series*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1949). I shall not go over the whole ground again but there are some additional considerations which not only confirm the view that a *rab-byun* of sixty years has slipped out of Hgos' later chronology but also indicate that the consequent compression has affected events of the years A.D. 841 to 901.

As Dr. Roerich says, on the assumption that Bla-chen-po was born in A.D. 892 the date of the Three Learned Men, whose disciple Bla-chen-po was, cannot be earlier than the last quarter of the ninth century (op. cit., p. xvii). This cannot be reconciled with the acceptable date of A.D. 841 for the suppression of Buddhism. The whole point of the story is that the Three Learned Men fled from Glan-dar-ma's persecution. But it is not necessary to accept the assumption of Hgos' later chronology that Bla-chen-po was born in A.D. 892. According to the *Deb-sñon* (kha. 1, a) he was born a year after the death of the Minister Hbro Stag-snañ Khri-sum-rje whose reincarnation he became. Khri-sum-rje Stag-snañ is readily

identifiable. He figures in the Tun-huang list of Chief Ministers as successor to Dbah Mañ-rje-lha-lod, who was probably the last of Khri Lde-sroñ-brtsan's Chief Ministers (*Documents de Touen-Houang*, Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint, Paris, 1940, pp. 102 and 132). He appears in documents from Chinese Turkestan as one of the architects of the treaty between Tibet and China in A.D. 821 (*Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, F. W. Thomas, 1951; part ii, pp. 92-106, and part iii, p. 4). He was probably also a witness to that treaty. In my edition of its text (R.A.S. Prize Publication Fund, vol. xix, 1952, p. 74), I tentatively reconstructed the name of the second Tibetan signatory as Blon-po Rlad Khri-sum-rje Sbeg-lha. On further study I think this should read (Hbro) Žaṅ Khri-sum-rje Stag-snañ. According to Hgos, Khri-sum-rje was only thirty-five when he died; and that would mean that he won his military and diplomatic laurels when he was between twenty and twenty-five. Professor Demiéville considers that he may have been active so early as A.D. 767-786 (*Le Concile de Lhasa*, Paul Demiéville, Paris, 1952, p. 281), but I do not find this dating conclusive, for the same events which Professor Demiéville relates to A.D. 767-786 appear to be attributed by Dr. S. W. Bushell to the years A.D. 809-819 ("The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources", S. W. Bushell, *JRAS.*, 1880). But whatever the date of Khri-sum-rje Stag-snañ's birth, his activities in A.D. 821 make it impossible that he should have died at the age of thirty-five in A.D. 891 as would be implied by the chronology of the second book of the *Deb-sñon*. If the tradition that Bla-chen-po's birth followed soon after Khri-sum-rje's death has any value, it must be assumed that the missing cycle of sixty years has affected Hgos' calculations here and that Bla-chen-po was born in A.D. 832, was ordained by the Three Learned Men some time after A.D. 850, and died in A.D. 915.

In *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, vol. i, p. 83, Professor G. Tucci rejects that proposed dating because of the acceptability of the date A.D. 1042 for the coming of Atiśa and because it is stated in the *Deb-sñon* that Klu-mes and Sum-pa met Bla-chen-po. Sum-pa is also said to have met Atiśa. This implies an impossibly long life for Sum-pa if Bla-chen-po died in A.D. 915; and so, on this view, the dates of Bla-chen-po should be put sixty years later. But it should be noticed that although Hgos mentions the tradition that Klu-mes and Sum-pa met Bla-chen-po (kha 3, a), he does not commit

himself to accepting it. In his last book (ba 10, b) he states that the account he accepts is that of Pa-si Gnas-brtan; and that tradition is not one which he specifically attributes to Pa-si but is clearly assigned to "other writers".

Some light may be thrown on the matter by collating what Bu-ston and Hgos have to say about it. Bu-ston, in his general account of the period, gives the impression that, at a time when the Three Learned Men were still alive, Bla-chen-po, Klu-mes, and Sum-pa were contemporaries of much the same age, for Klu-mes and Sum-pa asked Bla-chen-po for ordination very soon after his own ordination by the Three Learned Men. Another important figure, Grum Ye-sés-rgyal-mtshan, is also named as one of the same group (f. 148a in Obermiller's edition). This has the appearance of a pious fiction. It has already been mentioned that Sum-pa is said to have been alive in A.D. 1042; and it will be shown that Klu-mes was alive at least as late as A.D. 1025. There is nowhere any suggestion that Bla-chen-po was anything but a young man when he was ordained but (assuming he was born in A.D. 892 which I do not actually accept), even if he was as much as forty when he was ordained that would mean that Klu-mes and Sum-pa were born about A.D. 915 and so would be respectively 110 and 127 when they died. There are signs in Bu-ston's own work that the tradition is confused, for when he quotes the spiritual lineages of teacher and pupil he finds at least one and, in some cases, two links between Bla-chen-po and Klu-mes. I shall return to that point; but first it is desirable to see what can be found out about Grum Ye-sés-rgyal-mtshan.

Bu-ston states that Grum Ye-sés-rgyal-mtshan was the teacher of Klu-mes (f. 148b) and a disciple of Bla-chen-po (f. 152b). Hgos has two references to him. In one (kha 3, a) he mentions the account in "other histories" that Grum ordained the Men of Dbus and Gtsañ (Klu-mes, etc.). This is not one of the traditions attributed to Pa-si Gnas-brtan and is not specifically accepted by Hgos any more than is the tradition that the Men of Dbus and Gtsañ met Bla-chen-po. The other statement is that, at the time of the last T'ang Emperor, Grum Ye-sés-rgyal-mtshan was Master of the "Doctrine" in Kham (bstan-pahi bdag-po byed). This comes in the first book of the *Deb-sñon* where Hgos' chronology is mainly based on Chinese records and is therefore generally reliable. Coming where it does, with its lack of elaboration and argument, it has for me a convincing appearance. There is no room for an error of sixty years

in the dates of the last T'ang Emperor ; Chao Süan Ti reigned from A.D. 905 to 907. The phrase "*bstan-paḥi bdag-po*" applied to Grum Ye-śes-rgyal mtshan must mean that he was the leading teacher of religion at that time and it is fair to assume that he would then be, at least, of middle age. It follows that if Grum was Bla-chen-po's disciple Bla-chen-po could not have been born so late as A.D. 892. On the view that Bla-chen-po was born in A.D. 832 he would have been over seventy and past much active work by the time that Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan is described as Master of the Doctrine.

With Klu-mes and Sum-pa we reach a period for which Hgos' chronology is consistent although not always complete. From this it appears that Klu-mes, who is always represented as the leading partner, was alive for several years after A.D. 1017 when he approved of the founding of Sol-nag Thaṅ-po-che (kha 6, a) and that Sum-pa, as already mentioned, lived until the coming of Atiśa in A.D. 1042. It seems, therefore, that neither is likely to have been born much before A.D. 950 ; and if Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan was even so young as thirty when he was Master of the Doctrine in A.D. 907, it is improbable that he could have ordained Klu-mes and Sum-pa. One more link seems to be needed in the chain of succession between Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan and Klu-mes.

I have mentioned earlier the spiritual lineages which Bu-ston quotes. With regard to the transmission of the Vinaya he states that Bla-chen-po instructed Grum, and Grum instructed Klu-mes. But he also quotes two other accounts of the transmission of ordination from the time of Mkhan-po Bodhisatva the great Abbot of Bsam-yas in the time of Khri Sroṅ-lde-brtsan. They are as follows : (1) Bodhisatva ; Sba Ratna ; Lha-luṅ Rab-hbyor-dbyaṅs ; Bla-chen-po ; Ye-gon Ye-śes-gyuṅ-druṅ ; Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan ; Klu-mes ; and (2) Bodhisatva ; Sba Ratna ; Gyo-dge (one of the Three Learned Men) ; Bla-chen-po ; Sgro Man-hju-śri ; Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan ; Klu-mes. Although these lines of succession extend the period between Bla-chen-po and Klu-mes to a reasonable length they still leave the difficulty that Grum is said to have ordained Klu-mes. But there is another history which contains a similar lineage to the last one which I have quoted from Bu-ston with the difference that Sgro Man-hju-śri is placed *after* Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan and before Klu-mes. This is the Sba-bžed Žabs-btags-ma which is a repository of Bsam-yas traditions and ostensibly connected with the line of Sba Ratna. It is probable that the chain

of succession descending from Bodhisatva and Sba Ratna would be most accurately preserved in such a work; and that is the view I accept in the following outline of the chronology of the principal teachers who kept the Doctrine alive in Khams and of those who later led the revival in Central Tibet.

A.D.

Bod-kyi mkhas-pa mi gsum. The Three Learned	
Men of Tibet	c. 800-875
Fled from Dbus <u>841</u>	
Bla-chen-po Dge-ba-gsal	b. <u>832</u> , d. <u>915</u>
Grum Ye-sés-rgyal-mtshan	c. 865-935
Contemporary of last T'ang Emperor <u>905-907</u>	
Sgros Man-hju-śri	c. 895-970
Klu-mes Śes-rab-tshul-khrims	c. 950-1025
Returned to Central Tibet c. <u>978</u>	
At Bsam-yas <u>986</u>	
Initiated Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug <u>993</u>	
Approved foundation of Thañ-po-che <u>1017</u>	
Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug	b. <u>976</u> , d. <u>1060</u>

(Dates underlined are supported by some evidence; the others are tentative.)

That outline spreads out over 130 years' events which in the later books of the *Deb-sñon* have been compressed into a period of seventy years. The earliest estimate of the length of time between the extinction of the Doctrine and its restoration is that of seventy-eight years attributed to Atiśa's disciple Hbrom-ston-pa who was born at the beginning of the eleventh century—that is to say only about 160 years after the death of Ral-pa-can. This probably influenced Hgos Lo-tsa-ba and, through him, most of the later historians. Nevertheless, I see too many difficulties in the evidence I have mentioned above for Hbrom-ston-pa's estimate to be convincing, and I am inclined to think that there was an error in his calculations or that his meaning has been misinterpreted. Other estimates such as that of 108 years by Nel-pa Pandita (early thirteenth century) and ninety-eight years in the *Rgyal-rabs Gsal-baḥi-me-loñ* (early

sixteenth century) show that the question was open to doubt; and this lack of agreement among Tibetan historians gives added value to any link that can be found with Chinese history, such as that between the dates of the last T'ang Emperor and Grum Ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan.

After that rather long discussion of his antecedents we come back to Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug and to firm chronological ground; for Hgos clearly establishes Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug's dates by his detailed account covering the whole of the 465 years between the foundation of Rgyal Lug-lhas in A.D. 1012 and the writing of the *Deb-sñon* in 1478. About Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug himself Hgos gives some brief information. He was born in A.D. 976, his father being Sna-nam Jo-sras and his mother ŽaŃ Lcam Sgrol-ma. He was ordained at the age of eighteen by Klu-mes and, soon after, he founded the *gtsug-lag-khaŃ* of Chag—Dpañ-bo-gtsug-lag calls it Ra-chag and Bu-ston, Ra-tshag. I have not yet been able to identify this place. Then in A.D. 1012 he founded Rgyal Lug-lhas. He is said to have visited India; and he died in A.D. 1060 at the age of eighty-five. The fact that Hgos twice refers to him as ŽaŃ Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug and the names of his father and mother all suggest that he was connected with the Tibetan royal house. ŽaŃ is a title given to members of families from which the kings of Tibet took a queen (G. Tucci, *Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Rome, 1950, pp. 57–61), and the name Jo-sras means, approximately, "Prince." The Sna-nam clan is well known in Tibetan history and members of it appear first in the Tun-huang Chronicles as figures of the legendary past (Bacot, etc., op. cit., pp. 124 and 129). They emerge into historical certainty with Sna-nam Mañ-mo-rje who was the principal queen of Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan (A.D. 704–755) and mother of Khri SroŃ-lde-brtsan (A.D. 742–?797). After that several members of the clan are named as ministers and as witnesses to the religious edicts of Khri SroŃ-lde-brtsan and of his son Khri Lde-sroŃ-brtsan (A.D. 776–815) (Tucci, *Tombs*, pp. 46 and 54–5; Bacot, etc., *Documents*, p. 132); and the sixteenth century historian Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag states that Glan-dar-ma's senior queen was from the Sna-nam clan. Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug's noble descent and royal connections may account for the prosperity of Rgyal Lha-khaŃ which Hgos describes as exceptionally wealthy.

After some 200 years there may have been a decline in the well-being of the *lha-khaŃ*, for Hgos records that the office of Abbot fell

vacant in A.D. 1238. Then in A.D. 1240 it suffered a terrible blow when a Mongol force sent by Godan Khan penetrated into Central Tibet and after raiding Rva-sgreñ, descended on Rgyal. The *lha-khañ* was looted and burnt and a number of monks and laymen slaughtered. This disaster must have reduced the prosperity of Rgyal permanently. The *lha-khañ* was later repaired and restored, but on a smaller scale, with funds provided by the Mongol general Dordtanag who is said to have repented of his crime. In A.D. 1253 a new Abbot was appointed and the succession continued without interruption until the time of Hgos Lo-tsa-ba.

When I was at Lhasa I heard that there was an inscribed pillar at Rgyal and I was able to visit the *lha-khañ* in the autumn of 1949. It is situated some twenty-five miles north-west of Lhasa, as the crow flies, in the secluded valley of a small tributary of the Hphan-po Chu. I intended to spend a night there but maps of the area are inadequate; the road turned out to be longer than expected; and I had to halt about eight miles short of Rgyal. A visit on the following day was almost entirely occupied with copying the inscription, which was the main purpose of my journey; and I am therefore unable to give an account of the *lha-khañ* itself beyond saying that it consists of two separate chapels each attended by about sixty *Bkañ-gdams-pa* monks. None of the wall-paintings or images appeared to be of particular interest but there were many large bronze *mchod-rien* said to have been brought from India by Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug.

As can be seen from Plates II and III the pillar is badly damaged. It stands in an outer courtyard with its broader sides facing east and west. It was inscribed on the east, west, and south faces but only the east inscription has survived to any extent. The east face is decorated with a double thunderbolt (*rdo-rje*), and the south with an ornament rather like an ace of clubs—perhaps a stylized flower. An iron band, with the appearance of considerable age, runs round the pillar just below the capital, obscuring the first line of the inscription. None of the monks present knew anything about even the legible parts of the inscription and consequently could not suggest what might be hidden under the iron band. Even if there had been time for leisurely negotiations it is unlikely that I could have secured the removal of something that appeared to be so long-established: as it was, I had to be content with what could be seen and the inscription, which I transcribe later, is, therefore,

tantalizingly decapitated. The hidden line seems to have referred to the foundation of the *lha-khañ* and may have given an indication of the age of the inscription.

It is possible that the *rdo-rin* was set up by Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug himself and that the damage it shows was suffered at the Mongol invasion. The wording is compatible with that date perhaps more than any other, speaking as it does of a falling off in the practice of religion and exhorting a return to faith. Moreover the erection of a *rdo-rin* may have been the deliberate continuation by Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug, as a connection of the former royal line, of a custom of the Kingdom of Tibet. There are ten surviving inscribed pillars from the time of the Tibetan kings at Lhasa and elsewhere in Central Tibet but, although I have searched in such foundations of later Buddhism as Rva-sgreñ, Hbri-khuñ, Stag-luñ, Dgañ-ldan and in many another *dgon-pa* and *lha-khañ*, I have found no other *rdo-rin* older than Ch'ing times when the Manchu Emperors reintroduced a fondness for inscribed pillars which seems almost to have died out in Tibet after the great days of the Kingdom.

The language and style of the inscription at Rgyal do not throw much light on the question of date. The composition has greater fluency and sophistication than is found in inscriptions of the Tibetan kings; there is no example of the *da-drag* and nothing which can be described as at all archaic except the use of *myi* for *mi*. From this aspect there is nothing against the attribution of A.D. 1012 as a possible date.

The few surviving words of the south inscription provide a cryptic fragment—"Hphan yul kluñ skyes no mtshar che", "Hphan-yul wonderful river source." It occurred to me that "kluñ skyes" might be part of the original name of the foundation and "Lug-lhas" (the Sheepfold) a later corruption; but this is unlikely because the name Lug-lhas is given by Hgos Lo-tsa-ba who had obviously studied the records of the *lha-khañ* with great care. I was not able to trace a *dkar chag* of Rgyal either at the *lha-khañ* or in Lhasa, nor have I found anything in Tibetan histories to throw light on that fragment of the inscription. In the meantime I can only conjecture that this may have been some simile to the effect that "as many rivers rise in Hphan-yul so may many religious foundations spring from this *lha-khañ*".

The inscription on the east face is as follows:—

(one line hidden by iron band)

btsugs pa (la*) | spyi den sañ gi dussu ni |
 dge ba la phyogs gcig la dañ | legs
 pa la gros h̄thun ba ni ñun na | ho na yañ dkon
 mchog gsum la skyabs su gsol bañi myi
 rnams kyis ni | lhar sañs rgyas gzuñ | gros
 phugs chos la | gtad | gtsor lta ba sbyañ | tshig
 spyod rnal du dbab | h̄tsho ba gtsañ mar sgrub
 byed dgu chos dañ sbyar | spyi gros gcig du
 bzlum | sgo gñer so sor blañ | ñan gros dgog
 du dbyuñ | bden gtam dañ du blañ | h̄di ltar
 byas na h̄tshe h̄di dañ phyi ma gñi gar bde bar
 h̄gyur byas | tshig beu po h̄di yal
 bar ma bor žiñ gzuñs
 su bzuñ na legs so | |

The remainder of the inscription on this face was apparently about the same length as the preceding text but it is irrecoverably damaged. Only a few phrases can be read—"bsam myi khyab"; "rnam pa kun tu sgrib sbyañ"; "kyi dge ba."

TRANSLATION

. . . was founded. Generally nowadays while there is little whole-hearted pursuit of virtue and little devotion to the good, still, men who in their prayers seek refuge in the Three Jewels should again cling to the Lord Buddha; they should direct their innermost thoughts to religion; they should study the most excellent doctrine; they should subdue their way of speech to a religious quietness; they should perfect their lives in purity, make all their actions conformable to religion, gather together the highest counsel, take upon themselves the guardianship of the door (of religion), cleanse themselves of evil thoughts in abstraction from worldly things and, above all, they should accept the word of truth. If they act in this way they shall win happiness both in this existence and in that to come; and if they do not leave this tenfold commandment to wither away but hold it firmly, it shall be well.

. . . not to be comprehended by thought . . .

. . . completely purging all stain of sin . . .

. virtue

* There is some damage here. The reading might be "las". The gap in the middle of the last three lines is filled by a rdo-rje in low relief.

SOUTH INSCRIPTION

(first line hidden by iron band)

hphan | yul kluñ skyes no mtshar che |

After completing the foregoing article I received a new contribution to the chronology of the period in *A Study of Early Tibetan Chronicles Regarding Discrepancies of Dates and Their Adjustment*, by Dr. Bunkyo Aoki of the University of Tokyo, published by Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai, October, 1955. In this detailed and erudite examination of Tibetan chronology from Sron-brstan-sgam-po to Atiśa Dr. Aoki comes to the conclusion, at variance from the general view, that Glañ-dar-ma came to the throne in A.D. 841 and reigned until A.D. 901. Dr. Aoki believes that Tibetan historians date the extinction of the Doctrine from the end of that long reign and that difficulties about a discrepancy of sixty years in the *Deb-shon* and other works are due to the fact that, in the Tibetan system of dating, the years A.D. 841 and 901 have the same name—*Leag-mo-bya*, Iron Female Bird.

Key points in the argument are that the “tsan-pu” whose death is recorded in the Old T’ang History (*Chiu T’ang Shu*) under the year A.D. 842 was Ral-pa-can not Glañ-dar-ma; that Glañ-dar-ma’s son Hod-sruñs was born, according to Bu-ston, in A.D. 845, therefore the father cannot have died in A.D. 842; and that Bu-ston’s account shows that Glañ-dar-ma came to the throne as a child and that his assassination took place “after a long time”.

A full examination of that theory is beyond the scope of this note but it is necessary to comment on some of the important points where it differs from the view I have put forward above.

To start with the death of Ral-pa-can: there are two traditions in Tibetan history. The first book of the *Deb-shon*, relying on Chinese Annals, and other histories which follow that authority put Ral-pa-can’s death in A.D. 836 and the persecution of the Doctrine in the Iron Bird year A.D. 841. But many other Tibetan histories from Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan of Sa-skye (A.D. 1147 to 1216) down to Sum-pa Mkhon-po in the eighteenth century put Ral-pa-can’s death, Glañ-dar-ma’s accession, and the persecution of the Doctrine all in the same Iron Bird year with Glañ-dar-ma’s death in the following year—generally taken to be A.D. 841 and 842 respectively.

A valuable part of Dr. Aoki’s argument is his examination of the original Chinese sources for Tibetan chronology of this period. He

shows that the Old T'ang History records the report in the twelfth month of a year which is the equivalent of A.D. 842 of the death of a Tibetan "tsan-pu" whose name is not given. In the collated version of the T'ang History published in the eighteenth century this entry is placed where it appears to relate to Glan-dar-ma because the death of Ral-pa-can is mentioned in the New T'ang History (*Hsin T'ang Shu*)—but not in the Old—apparently occurring in the year A.D. 836. Dr. Aoki shows that Chinese historians were in disagreement and that there were doubts about this point so early as A.D. 1086, for the *Tzŭ-ch'ih T'ung-chien* specifically denies that the Tibetan king who died in A.D. 842 was Ral-pa-can and states that he was Glan-dar-ma. Dr. Aoki rejects that opinion for several reasons, of which the most effective, to my mind, is the statement that the Old T'ang History links the name of the "tsan-pu" whose death was reported in A.D. 842 with the king who concluded the treaty between Tibet and China in A.D. 821. This point could with advantage have been made at greater length for, if it is correct, there can be no doubt that the reference is to Ral-pa-can. Dr. Aoki considers that A.D. 842 almost corresponds with the date A.D. 841 found in Bu-ston's history and he takes A.D. 841 for the death of Ral-pa-can as a fixed point in his chronology.

My own inclination has been to accept that date largely because of the attribution to Ral-pa-can, in the New T'ang History, of a reign of "about thirty years"; and because the weight of Tibetan tradition favours an Iron Bird year. Dr. Aoki warns against the use of statements in the New T'ang History without the greatest caution; but he accepts that estimate of the length of Ral-pa-can's reign. Nevertheless, it seems to be a point where further argument is possible and if the estimate of a thirty years' reign could be seriously called in question, the claims of A.D. 836 (*Deb-sñon*) or 838 (*Tzŭ ch'ih T'ung-chien*) for the death of Ral-pa-can would deserve favourable consideration.

Thus far it is not difficult to agree with Dr. Aoki but it is less easy to follow him in his thesis of a sixty years' reign by Glan-dar-ma. Apart from the calculation backwards from the dates of Bla-chen-po, which he takes to be A.D. 892-975, Dr. Aoki relies principally on Bu-ston's account and particularly on the statements that Glan-dar-ma was young when he came to the throne; that when he grew up (*nar soñ nas*) he showed an anti-religious spirit and continued the persecution of Buddhism which his ministers had already

begun; and that his assassination took place "a long time after" he came of age (*riñ žig na*). Dr. Aoki also considers that Bu-ston shows that the persecution continued even after Glan-dar-ma's death and that is why later historians took the date of his death as the year of the extinction of the Doctrine (*Bstan-pa bsnubs*).

It is true there are indications in Bu-ston's history that Glan-dar-ma reigned for more than a year; but there are also great inconsistencies with the tradition contained in most other Tibetan histories. First, with regard to Glan-dar-ma's age at his accession. Although Bu-ston does not state categorically that Glan-dar-ma was Ral-pa-can's brother, he does not ascribe any other relationship to him; and it is the tradition in all other Tibetan histories that they were brothers—with differences of opinion which was the elder. The oldest Tibetan source, the Tun-huang Chronicle (which Dr. Aoki does not appear to take into consideration in any part of his work) states that the two were brothers and suggests, but not conclusively, that Glan-dar-ma (*Huñi-dum-brtan*) was the younger. It is also generally agreed that the father of these two, Khri Lde-sroñ-brtsan, died in A.D. 815 (which I accept) or in 817 at the latest. That would make Glan-dar-ma at least twenty-five on his accession and in that case Bu-ston's statement that "he came of age" later would be meaningless. Dr. Aoki does not inquire into Glan-dar-ma's paternity nor does he try to establish exactly how old he was on his accession; but he accepts from Bu-ston (perhaps without a full enough examination) the year A.D. 845 as that in which a son, *Hod-sruñs*, was born to Glan-dar-ma who could, therefore, on Dr. Aoki's theory, hardly have been less than thirteen in A.D. 841. It follows that the story that Glan-dar-ma was a "juvenile" at his accession cannot be accepted without calling in question the well-attested tradition that Khri Lde-sroñ-brtsan was Glan-dar-ma's father and that he died in A.D. 815 (817).

If Glan-dar-ma was at least twenty-five when he came to the throne he would have been at least eighty-five if he had lived until A.D. 901 (even if he had been thirteen, that would have made him seventy-three in A.D. 901) and it is hard to believe that so long a reign could fail to make an indelible impression on tradition or that the great age of the assassinated king would be omitted from stories of that memorable deed.

There are further difficulties in Dr. Aoki's interpretation of Bu-ston's meaning. It is clearly stated that persecution of the

Doctrine began immediately on the death of Ral-pa-can and that crimes against religion, such as the closing of temples and the killing of monks took place at that time. It is true that, after his account of the assassination of Glan-dar-ma, Bu-ston goes on to say that Pandits and *lo-tsa-ba* were banished or killed and the Doctrine was abolished (*bstan-pa med-par byas so*). But two of the *lo-tsa-ba* whom he names—*Nan Tiñ-ñe-hdzin-bzan-po* and *Rma Rin-chen-mchog*—were active in the reign of *Khri Lde-sron-brtsan* (805–815) and could not have survived until A.D. 901. It seems, therefore, that this passage is a “flash back” inspired by the mention of the religious books which *Lha-luñ Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje*, the killer of Glan-dar-ma, took with him on his flight, or else that the assassination of the king took place a great deal earlier than A.D. 901.

I find it hard to believe that the period of some fifty years after Glan-dar-ma “came of age” during which, on Dr. Aoki’s theory *Lha-luñ Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje* was born, educated, ordained and spent some time in meditation, could be covered by the phrase “*rin zig na*”, which can also mean no more than “after some time”. It also seems incongruous, if so early as A.D. 841–5 monasteries were closed, monks unfrocked or killed, translating work interrupted and so on, that later historians should date the extinction of the Doctrine from so late as A.D. 901, the year in which the oppressor was removed. I do not think Bu-ston intended to give that impression.

The story of the Three Learned Men raises similar difficulties. Dr. Aoki does not inquire into their history before their flight from Central Tibet; but it is necessary for his theory that this should not have taken place before A.D. 901 because *Bla-chen-po*, whose dates Dr. Aoki treats as unalterably fixed at A.D. 892 to 975, was their first disciple. I have already argued that those dates are not acceptable and should be put back sixty years. I may recall the tradition of a link between the death of *Khri-sum-rje Stag-snañ* and the birth of *Bla-chen-po* and also the statement in the *Deb-shon* that *Grum Ye-ses-rgyal-mtshan* was active at the time of the last T’ang Emperor (A.D. 905–7). If *Grum* was *Bla-chen-po*’s disciple, *Bla-chen-po* could not have been born so late as A.D. 892.

Other problems arise from an attempt to reconcile Dr. Aoki’s theory with the account of events after A.D. 842 given in the com-

bined version of the T'ang History as translated by Dr. S. W. Bushell (op. cit., pp. 523-6). In the extracts quoted the passage underlined is from the Old History, the rest from the New.

"In the 2nd year of Huich'ang (842) the tsanp'u died . . .

He had no sons and Ch'ilihu, a son of Shangyenli the elder brother of his wife whose name was Lin (Chin) was made tsanp'u. He was only three years old." Then follows an account of the refusal of the Chief Minister Chiehtuna to do homage; for which he was killed; and of rivalry between the Ministers Shangk'ungje and Shang-yüssülo. The former issued a proclamation that the "brothers of the ministers have killed the Tsanp'u" for which deed he called for vengeance. He then came into conflict with the Minister Shang-pipi. The account relates that "within three years the people, in consequence of the illegal election of the tsanp'u, were all in a state of revolt; Shangk'ungje arrogated the title of Chief Minister and attacked Shangpipi".

That account covers the years A.D. 842 to 849, for the next dated entry from the Old History relates to A.D. 849 and mentions Shangk'ungje as making overtures to the Chinese.

It will be recollected that Dr. Aoki takes the entry about the death of the "tsanp'u" to relate to Ral-pa-can; and there are several parts of the story outlined above which could with some plausibility be related to that time rather than to events on the death of Glan-dar-ma; e.g. "the king had no sons", and the statement that the late king was killed by the "brothers of the ministers"; and the name Ch'ilihu might stand for Khri Hu (-dum-brtan). But if Dr. Aoki takes the passage in that sense, he would have to jettison or explain away the earlier reference in the New History to Ral-pa-can being succeeded on his death by his dissolute younger brother "Tamo". This would mean discarding the weight of Tibetan tradition and the authority of the Tun-huang Chronicle; it would also mean that the events recorded in the T'ang History down to A.D. 875 would be incidents of Glan-dar-ma's reign and must be brought into some relation to Tibetan traditions about the persecution of the Doctrine. But it seems that Dr. Aoki is not prepared to do that for he conjectures that the story in the T'ang History about events after A.D. 842 is an erroneous interpretation of the Tibetan tradition which relates that Glan-dar-ma was succeeded by his infant son Hod-sruñs. He does not try to explain how that tradition arose or how it is to be reconciled with his

own theory that Hod-sruṅs came to the throne at the age of fifty-six on Glaṅ-dar-ma's death in A.D. 901.

There is a still greater problem why, if the passage relates to events on Glaṅ-dar-ma's death, it should appear in a chronological sequence in the T'ang History where it conflicts completely with Dr. Aoki's theory. The story cannot simply be treated as misplaced and transferred forward sixty years for it is woven into a consistent account of the rivalry between the ministers which can be placed in the middle years of the ninth century. Professor Demiéville (op. cit., pp. 25, 27), quoting from Ssu-ma Kuang, identifies Shangpipi as a member of the Hbro clan who was made a minister by Ral-pa-can at the age of over forty. He disappears from the T'ang History (at least under that name or his personal name, Tsan sin ya) about A.D. 849-50. His rival, Shangk'ungje, may be the Dbas Blon Khrom-bžer who witnessed the Edict of Khri Lde-sroṅ brtsan. As he survived until A.D. 866 he would have been young at the time of the Edict but there is some support for the identification in the *Chos-byun* of Dpah-bo Gtsug-lag Hphreṅ-ba (A.D. 1564) which gives an account of the struggle after the death of Glaṅ-dar-ma and names "Dbaḥs Kho-bžer" and "Hbro Sbas" as two of the principals. The story as a whole seems sufficiently well authenticated for it to be impossible to detach the part dealing with the succession and transfer it to sixty years later.

I do not think Dr. Aoki faces the problems raised by the New T'ang History and, although he warns against using statements there without great circumspection, those problems cannot be entirely ignored. I do not intend to complicate the matter any further by attempting to develop the consequences of the several solutions which appear to be open to Dr. Aoki or by putting forward, at present, any more assumptions on which a speculative rewriting of the history of the period could be constructed. I believe that, although details of the chronology worked out by Tibetan historians for the interval between Ral-pa-can and Sna-nam Rdo-rje-dbañ-phyug may be largely artificial, Tibetan traditions, beneath the layer of religious embroidery, reflect the general course of events. And, although I cannot accept Dr. Aoki's enterprising theory that Glaṅ-dar-ma's reign lasted for sixty years, I think there is still room for discussion whether it began in A.D. 836 (*Deb-sṅon*) or 838 (*Tzū-ch'ih T'ung-chien*): or whether it began in A.D. 841 and continued for more than one year. For example, Dpah-bo Gtsug-lag

gives the following chronology for Glan-dar-ma: born in *Chu-mo-lug* three years before Ral-pa-can (A.D. 803); succeeded aged 39 in *Leag-mo-bya* (A.D. 841); died aged 44 in *Me-stag* (A.D. 846). His son *Hod-sruñs* born in the following year *Me-yos* (A.D. 847); *Hod-sruñs* died in *Sin-sbrul* (A.D. 885) at the age of 39; his son *Dpal-hkhor-btsan* born in *Sin-bya* (A.D. 865) and died aged 31 in A.D. 895. This may be no more than an attempt by a thoughtful historian to work out a plausible succession of events but *Dpah-bo Gtsug-lag's* history contains some demonstrably ancient material and he quotes from such old sources as the *Bsam-yas Dkar-chag* and from the *Lo-rgyus Chen-mo* of *Khu-ston-brston-hgrus* (A.D. 1011-1075). I cannot attempt here to examine the differences and points of agreement between that chronology of *Dpah-bo Gtsug-lag* and those of other Tibetan historians and of the T'ang Histories but I shall conclude with some general observations on the period after Ral-pa-can's death based on the traditional view that Glan-dar-ma's reign was short.

Through Chinese eyes Tibetan affairs at that time appear largely as a struggle between rival ministers; and Tibetan histories also retain the memory of those struggles although it is partly obscured by the attention devoted to the fortunes of the two princes who competed for the throne. There is a tendency among Tibetan historians to treat *Hod-sruñs* as the legitimate and effective successor perhaps because he was believed to be either himself a Buddhist or at least the forebear of a line of kings who had much to do with the restoration of Buddhism. But from the mass of varying comments in different histories a good deal more can be disentangled. It is clear that *Yum-brtan* was actually the successful claimant. He is sometimes spoken of as *Khri* (the Enthroned)-*Lde Yum-brtan* whereas *Hod-sruñs* is never given a higher title than *Mñah-bdag*—the Ruler. *Yum-brtan* and his supporters seem to have retained *Lhasa* and as some Tibetan historians say they eventually "deprived *Hod-sruñs* of his share of the kingdom". All Tibetan histories recount the story of *Yum-brtan's* adoption and the T'ang History shows that the information reaching China was that the Tibetan throne had been occupied by an adopted infant under the regency of his aunt, the widow of the late king. But there are occasional signs of uncertainty whether that was the whole truth. *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan* speaks of both *Yum-brtan* and *Hod-sruñs* as "sons" of Glan-dar-ma and *Bu-ston* calls the descendants of *Yum-brtan*

"the senior line". Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag sums it up with judicial dryness in his comment that "doubts cast on the legitimacy of Yum-brtan were probably the work of the faction which supported Hod-sruñs". It may be that the strength of Hod-sruñs' party lay nearer to the Chinese frontier and it was their version that found its way into Chinese history.

The queen who established the child king Ch'ilihu on the throne was a member of the Mchims clan, according to Professor Demiéville (op. cit., p. 26); but the Chinese character he quotes does not appear to be the same as that used for "Mchims" in the treaty inscription of A.D. 821 at Lhasa and I wonder whether it may not be a representation of "Chen (mo)"—the Senior Queen—a phrase which appears frequently in Tibetan accounts of these events. The only direct statement in Tibetan histories about the origin of Glan-dar-ma's queens that I know is by Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag who says that the senior was from the Sna-nam clan and the junior from Tshe-spoñs (p. 139). There may be some indication in the name of the Chief Minister Chiehtuna who was killed because he protested against the enthronement of Ch'ilihu. I suggest he may be the *Žaṅ* Mchims *Rgyal-stoṅ sṅa* Smon btsan who was a witness to Khri Lde-sroñ brtsan's Edict. That would imply that the Mchims clan impugned the legitimacy of Yum-brtan and were therefore more favourably disposed to Hod-sruñs. It may also be remarked that Hod-sruñs was born in the Yar-luñ valley, which was Tshe-spoñ country, and that a reliable *Gnas-yig* or guidebook to monasteries attributes to Hod-sruñs' son Dpal-hkhor-btsan the foundation of Bya-sa Lha-khañ at the mouth of the Yar-luñ valley. That area, according to Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag and the Tun Huang Annals, appears to have been Mchims country. This suggests friendship between Hod-sruñs' line and the Mchims clan.

The most forceful participant in the events after Glan-dar-ma's death was the Minister Shangk'ungje. I have already mentioned that he may have belonged to the Dbahs clan. That would not give him the right to be called *Žaṅ* nor do Tibetan histories refer to him by that title; and in some Chinese records, too, he is called *Lunkungje* (Lun = Blon: Minister). Perhaps he was related to the Tshe-spoñs clan into which, by Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag's version, Hod-sruñs was born and which was entitled to be called *Žaṅ*. At all events, Shangk'ungje clearly considered that he had the right to an important place and he went into action swiftly and vigorously,

declaring Yum-brtan's election illegal, arrogating the title of Chief Minister and attacking all possible rivals. But it does not follow that he was acting as Hod-sruñs' champion. In fact, he was obviously out for his own interests and by A.D. 849 was claiming the title of "Tsan-pu" for himself. By the same token it does not necessarily follow that Shangpipi, who fought Yum-brtan's enemy, was himself Yum-brtan's friend. The scene of these battles and manœuvres was in the eastern provinces, far from Central Tibet; each general seems to have been out for himself and quite early in the campaign Shangpipi offered an alliance to Shangk'ungje, whether for or against Yum-brtan it is not clear, but the proposal came to nothing. From some hints it would seem that the Hbro clan, to which Shangpipi belonged, had closer links with Hod-sruñs, for both the Hbro family and the descendants of Hod-sruñs' younger grandson Bkra-śis Rtsegs-dpal eventually found themselves settled in upper Gtsaŋ; and by the account of the *Ladakh Rgyal-rabs*, the elder grandson Skyid-lde Ñi-ma-mgon when he fled to West Tibet, was offered as his queen a Hbro lady—Hbro-za Hkhor-skyoŋ. But that name might be a mistake for Hbru-sal—"of Gilgit"; and there is also a story that Ñi-ma-mgon was given wives by the Cog-ro and Pa-tshab clans.

I do not want to attach too great importance to those suggested associations because it is probably misleading to interpret the struggle of the rival ministers in terms of loyalty to this or that claimant to the throne. The prestige of the Tibetan royal house must have been at very low ebb by the time of Glaŋ-dar-ma. His father, Khri Lde-sroŋ-brtsan, seems to have been one of the few Tibetan kings to escape a violent death but his brother and immediate predecessor had been murdered by some of his nobles and Glaŋ-dar-ma himself, whatever Tibetan religious tradition may say, was believed by Chinese historians to have fallen victim to the prevailing spirit of faction which the kings were no longer able to control. The swift disintegration of the royal house after Glaŋ-dar-ma's death and the partition of Tibet among the contending nobles are evidence that no one of importance was greatly interested in the cause of either Hod-sruñs or Yum-brtan. And these signs of the weakness of the royal power are further arguments against the probability that any Tibetan king at that time would have been able to reign for so long as sixty years.

It is no great surprise that the T'ang History gives no hint that the

disorders in Tibet were in any way connected with religion ; but that does not of itself rule out the Tibetan tradition, for Chinese records are silent also about the religious differences at the time of Khri Sroñ-lde-brtsan of which there is good evidence. But it is probable that the troubles of Buddhism in Glan-dar-ma's reign were a smaller matter than they are made out to be by the Tibetan historians.

It may be significant that in Tibetan accounts of Glan-dar-ma's persecution little is said about the *Bon* who figure so prominently in the story of the suppression of Buddhism in Khri Sroñ-lde-brtsan's time. There is something strange about the name Glan-dar-ma, which does not appear in the oldest Tibetan records. Perhaps there is a pointer in the *Ladakh Rgyal-rabs* which recounts that four heretic Brahmins (*mu-stegs-kyi bram-ze*), disturbed at the progress of Buddhism in Tibet, reincarnated as demons in Glan-dar-ma and his ministers. Could it be that Hui-dum-brtan was not a *Bon* revivalist but a convert to Saivite Hinduism and that his name Glan-dar-ma—"Bull" Darma—refers to the bull Nandi ? Research into Nepalese history of the period might throw some light on the matter.

There is a tradition in some Tibetan histories that Hui-dum-brtan began his reign piously ; and confirmation that he was, for a time, acceptable to Buddhists may be seen in a prayer for "Btsan-po Lha-sras Hui-dum-brtan" in the documents from Tun-huang (*Invénaire des Documents de Touen-Houang*, Marcelle Lalou, vol. i, no. 134 ; Paris, 1939). There is also a fragmentary prayer mentioning "Lha-sras Hod-sruñs btsan yum" (Hod-sruñs, son of Heaven, the King and his Mother), which indicates that Hod-sruñs was young when his father died and that Buddhists in the eastern part of the Tibetan Empire looked on him as their king.

Whatever were the causes of dissension in Tibet and whatever the fortunes of the rival claimants, it is clear from Chinese records and Tibetan traditions that the might of the kingdom gradually vanished and territories on the border of China, formerly subject to Lhasa, fell away. According to the T'ang History trouble began within three years of the accession of Ch'iliu and by A.D. 849 the Chinese were able to celebrate the deliverance of much of their frontier from Tibetan domination. Between A.D. 849 and 867 general after general surrendered or transferred his allegiance, and that of his troops, to the Chinese. Eventually Shangku'ungje, the

last thorn in the Chinese side, was defeated and killed in A.D. 866. From that time, Ssü-ma Kuang considers, Tibetan power ceased to exist.

The T'ang dynasty, too, was near its end and by A.D. 873 "Imperial orders were unable to reach the frontier generals". Perhaps the *Deb-sñon* intends to refer to that period when it gives the date A.D. 860 for the ending of relations between Tibet and China (ka 25, b). That year is the first of the reign of Ghi Dzuñ (I Tsung) while A.D. 873 is the last. The reference may be to the reign as a whole rather than to any one year in it. This was the end of relations between the Kingdom of Tibet and the T'ang dynasty which had lasted almost the same time; and, according to Ma Tuan-lin, by A.D. 928 there was no one in China who could read a letter in Tibetan. But some sort of local Tibetan states on the borders of China were, not long after, in relations with the Chou dynasty and communications between the two—and later with the Sung—from A.D. 953 to 1201 are recorded by W. W. Rockhill in "Tibet from Chinese Sources" (*JRAS.*, April, 1891, pp. 195-6).

Nepal, too, took its chance to shake off Tibetan overlordship and the beginning of the Nepal Samvat in A.D. 880 may mark the restoration of Nepalese independence.

In Tibet itself the main struggle took place in the eastern districts and while it was in progress, the divided Tibetan royal house seems to have maintained an enfeebled existence for some time, Yum-brtan and his line in Lhasa, Hphan-po, and part of Gtsañ; Hod-sruñs in Yar-luñ and in parts of Mdo-med. But there was a constant succession of troubles. Dpah-bo Gtsug-lag (p. 140) describes a rebellion which broke out in Central Tibet "when Yum-brtan and Hod-sruñs were 23"—viz. in A.D. 869—that is to say after the defeat of Shang-k'ungje in Kham. Some eight years after that the tombs of the kings are said to have been divided up among the ministers and looted. A similar story is told by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan who seems to put the events rather later, after the death of Dpal-hkhor-btsan and perhaps about A.D. 923 by his calculations. But Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan does not mention the story which appears in the *Deb-sñon* (ka 19, a, and 23, a) that Dpal-hkhor-btsan was killed by his subjects—apparently by the Gñags clan in Yar-luñ. After his death his son Skyid-lde Ñi-ma-mgon could no longer keep his end up and fled to Western Tibet, where his family founded the kingdoms of Ladakh, Mar-yul, Spu-hrañs, and Žažñu.

or Gu-ge. From this it may appear that the removal of Shang-k'ungje from the scene allowed Yum-brtan to get the better of Hod-sruñs; but, as I have already suggested, it is more likely that these effete descendants of Sroñ-brtsan-sgam-po were of little account in the strife between the nobles. If the victory went to Yum-brtan it did not profit him greatly, for his line diminished rapidly into small local lordships not to compare with the kingdoms established in the west by Hod-sruñs' descendants; and the greater part of Tibet was parcelled out into a number of independent seigniories held by the families of ministers and nobles. Dpañ-bo Gtsug-lag (p. 140) gives a list of these divisions with the names of the families which established themselves in each and he piously attributes the whole arrangement to the benign intervention of the spirit of Bran-ka Dpal-gyi-yon-tan, Ral-pa-can's murdered monk-councillor, which restored the country to some sort of order and paved the way for the restoration of the Doctrine.

THE KANO CHRONICLE

BY M. HISKETT

THE CONTENTS OF the *Kano Chronicle*¹ have long been known to scholars from the translation by Sir Richmond Palmer.² The several Arabic MSS. of the work had, for years, been lost sight of, though it was thought that there must still be copies in Kano. In 1939 an American scholar, Professor J. H. Greenberg, made a microfilm copy of a MS. which he found there. This copy can apparently no longer be traced.

Interest in the MSS. of the *Kchr.* has recently revived, and many independent inquiries have been made. Three copies, (A), (B), and (C) have now come temporarily into my possession, on loan from their present owners. They came to me in the following circumstances :

At dinner recently, at the home of Sheikh Awad Muhammad Ahmad, Principal of the School for Arabic Studies, Kano, Professor R. B. Serjeant and I were discussing Arabic MSS. of the Fulani period with al-Haji Shehu Ahmed, O.B.E., Madaki of Kano. The Madaki remarked that he had recently seen a copy of the *Kchr.* in the possession of al-Haji Abubakar, Dokaji of Kano.

This copy had been lent to the Nigerian Government by Sir Richmond Palmer and passed on to the Dokaji for study. Through the kind offices of the Madaki I was able to see this copy, and to borrow it for a short time. The MS. (A) was a recent copy and the Dokaji informed me that it had been made from one much older in the possession of a mallam of Kano. I got in touch with its possessor, who brought MS. (B) for me to see. Although there was no internal evidence to date it, by comparison with similar MSS. of known age it appeared to be at least fifty years old. Its owner at first maintained that it was the oldest copy extant, and that the MS. from which it had been copied was lost. Later he revealed that he had a yet older MS. which his father had conjured him never to let pass from his hands. In due course he was persuaded to produce this MS. (C) and lend it for examination.

¹ *Kchr.*

² *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 58 ff., 1908. Subsequently in *Sudanese Memoirs*, Lagos, 1928, p. 92.

MS. (C) consists of sixty-three folios, with writing on both sides. The sheets are brown with age, and are crumbling at the edges. Some sheets are worm-eaten and those at the front and back are near to disintegration. The writing is *ajami*, but well-formed and full; though faded, it is still quite clear. Rubrications appear in the text.

The owner of MSS. (B) and (C) told me that his father, Mallam Idris, was tutor to the royal family of Kano.

A European known by the Hausa nick-name of "Dogon Lamba",¹ was interested in the history of Kano, and asked one Mai Ungawa Audu, District Head of Gulu, to assemble all learned mallams, and instruct them to bring in books on the subject. As a result, Mai Ungawa discovered MS. (C) which was passed to Mallam Idris for safe keeping. Later Sir Richmond Palmer² asked Mallam Idris to make him a copy of the *Kchr.* This Mallam Idris did, using (C) as an original. It is not clear, however, whether (B) is the copy used by Palmer, which was later returned to Mallam Idris, or whether Mallam Idris made a second copy at this time for his own use. Sir Richmond Palmer has informed me that he remembers having a copy made about 1906-7, and the present owner is quite definite as to the fact that (B) was also made at this time.

Sir Richmond Palmer says that the MS. from which his translation was made was found in Sabon-Gari, near Katsina.³ Lady Lugard mentions a MS. found by the Niger Company in Kano.⁴

There is no information concerning (C) before its discovery by Mai Ungawa, nor is there any way of telling how old it was when it was found. Both its appearance and the owner's evidence confirm that it is older than (B). If Palmer is correct in his belief that the work was compiled in the latter part of the decade 1883-1893⁵ then (C) cannot be far removed in time from the original. That it is the original is unlikely, as it is written in *ajami*. The author is thought to have been a Fezzani Arab, and would therefore have written in a *maghribi* hand unless, possibly, he employed a scribe. What relationship (C) bears to the Sabon Gari MS. and the Niger Company MS. will probably never be known. I am inclined to

¹ I believe this to have been Mr. O. Temple, whom the old men remember by this nick-name.

² At that time Mr. H. R. Palmer.

³ *Sudanese Memoirs* (Lagos, 1928), p. 92.

⁴ *A Tropical Dependency* (London, 1905), p. 236.

⁵ *Sudanese Memoirs*, p. 92.

believe that Mai Ungawa may have obtained it from a Katsina mallam, and that it is in fact the Sabon Gari MS. This would reconcile Palmer's statement with the present owner's story; but this is supposition and Sir Richmond Palmer has not confirmed it.

After brief examination (B) appears to be a very close copy of (C), and it is therefore improbable that a textual comparison will yield much of importance. It is always possible, however, that the copyist may have used more than one original, and as an established Arabic text of the *Kchr.* is needed, I propose to prepare from these two MSS. an annotated Arabic edition. Meanwhile both (B) and (C) are to be photographed, and copies will be preserved in University College Library, Ibadan. The originals will then be returned to their owner.

BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL FROM THE *ŠIWĀN* *AL-HIKMAH*

By D. M. DUNLOP

THE HISTORY OF learning among the Arabs in the great age, i.e. from about A.D. 700 to 950 or about 80 to 340 of the Hijrah, is not so well known that we can afford to neglect any source which promises to throw light on it.

None of the works of reference, except the *Fihrist* (written in 377/987), is nearly as old as the little-known *Šiwān al-Hikmah* (*Cabinet of Wisdom*) by Abū Sulaimān Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir as-Sijazī or as-Sijistānī dealing with the philosophers of antiquity and early Islam. The *Šiwān al-Hikmah*, if not actually a product of what I have called the great age, is at least near enough the great period and the great names to warrant our attention, for it was written perhaps even before the *Fihrist*, and its author Abū Sulaimān as-Sijistānī was a pupil of Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī, himself a pupil of the celebrated al-Fārābī.¹ I do not wish at the outset to raise false expectations. The work of which something will here be said is a mere extract from the *Šiwān al-Hikmah*, made several centuries later, and for various reasons cannot be regarded as of anything like equal value with the *Fihrist*. Yet even so it seems to possess considerable importance.

The existence of the work—the abridgment, that is—in several Istanbul MSS. was first made generally known by Dr. Plessner's article in *Islamica*, vol. iv (1931), "Beiträge zur islamischen Literaturgeschichte." Since then Dr. Franz Rosenthal has several times referred to a copy of the *Šiwān al-Hikmah* in the British Museum MS. Or. 9033.² The British Museum MS., which proves on inspection to be another copy of the abridgment (*Muntakhab Šiwān al-Hikmah*) and not the original work, contains *inter alia* a four-page article on "Homer", to which the scholars mentioned

¹ Cf. Brockelmann, Sup. i, 377.

² *Sarakhsi*, 134; *Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, 27 n.

have already referred,¹ a page and a half on Aeschylus,² a short notice of Anākchars aṣ-Ṣaqlabī,³ evidently Anacharsis the Scythian, familiar to readers of Herodotus, besides Xenophon,⁴ Euripides,⁵ Aristophanes,⁶ etc., and among the learned of Islam a long and valuable article on al-Kindī,⁷ with other articles on John Philoponus (Yahyā an-Nahwī),⁸ Ḥunain b. Ishāq and his son Ishāq b. Ḥunain,⁹ Thābit b. Qurrah,¹⁰ etc., these last independent apparently of other accounts known to us. All this constitutes an amount of valuable material and, while I have been able to use the British Museum MS. only, and the material cannot be positively demonstrated to date from the tenth century, an account of it may be of interest.

Apart from the abridgment (*Muntakhab Šiwān al-Ḥikmah*) a supplement (*Tatimmah Šiwān al-Ḥikmah*) by Zāhīr ad-Dīn al-Baihaqī (died 565/1169) is now well known, since it was edited by Dr. Muḥammad Shafī' at Lahore in [1351] 1935. MSS. of the *Tatimmah* are fairly common.¹¹ Of the *Šiwān al-Ḥikmah* itself no MS. appears at present to be known. There is indeed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, a MS. with the strange title *Kitāb Šinwān al-Ḥikmah li'l-Baihaqī abī'l-Qāsim Zāhīr ad-Dīn*.¹² But, as was noted long ago by the Dutch scholar Houtsma,¹³ this is not the *Šiwān al-Ḥikmah* of Abū Sulaimān as-Sijazī, but a philosophical work by some later author at present unknown.¹⁴

As to the British Museum MS. above-mentioned, this is not in Brockelmann, for the reason, I suppose, that the British Museum hand-list for 1911, in which it appears, has never been printed.¹⁵

¹ *Isis*, 36 (1946), 251 (F. Rosenthal); *Islamica*, iv (1931), 535. Prof. Jörg Kraemer of Tübingen has now identified these "Homer" citations as fairly literal translations of the so-called *Gnomai* of Menander, still grouped for the most part according to the original Greek alphabetical order. Prof. Kraemer has discussed them in "Homer bei den Arabern", *ZDMG.*, Bd. 31 (1956), 259–316. He authorizes me to say that the Arabic Menandrea, which include other *gnomai* besides those assigned to Homer here, contain a number not in the Greek original, in the form in which it has reached us (ed. by A. Meineke, 1841), cf. *ibid.*, 310.

² B.M. MS. Or. 9033, fol. 31b–32b. ³ Fol. 49b. ⁴ Fol. 38b.

⁵ Fol. 43b.

⁶ Fol. 43b.

⁷ Fol. 60a–65b.

⁸ Fol. 58a–59b.

⁹ Fol. 59b–60a.

¹⁰ Fol. 66a–68a.

¹¹ See Brockelmann, *GAL.*, Sup. i, 558.

¹² *Bodleian Catalogue*, i, 121, No. 484 = Marsh 539.

¹³ *Catalogus Codicum Arabicorum Bibl. Acad. Lugduno-Batavae*, vol. 2, pars prior, 1907, 132, n. 1.

¹⁴ I have been able to use a number of transcriptions of the Bodleian MS., kindly made in Oxford by Mr. G. Morrison.

¹⁵ MS. Or. 9033 is there said to date from the fourteenth century.

The text begins after the *Bismillah* as follows: "I decided to set down the lives of the philosophers, their names and some of their doctrine and virtues; so I have selected (*intakhabtu*) from the *Šiwān al-Ḥikmah* an account of the ancients, (placing) at the end the *Tatimmah Šiwān al-Ḥikmah* of the excellent imām Ṣaḥīr ad-Dīn abū'l-Ḥasan b. abī'l-Qāsim al-Baihaqī—God's mercy on him," as in the Istanbul MS. described by Dr. Plessner.¹ The British Museum MS. is undated and the abbreviator does not give his name, but evidently the abridgment was made after 565/1169 (death of al-Baihaqī). One of the Istanbul MSS. (Murad Mullah, 1408) is dated 639/1241, and this at least gives the *terminus ad quem* for the abridgment, if it is not indeed, as Dr. Plessner thought possible, the abbreviator's actual autograph.² The basis of the work, as already said, is tenth century, but the abbreviator in 639/1241 or somewhat earlier has evidently information of his own (e.g. the article in the *Muntakhab* on Abū Sulaimān himself³ must be an addition to the original *Šiwān al-Ḥikmah*).

Now as to the author. Abū Sulaimān Muḥammad b. Ṭāḥir as-Sijistānī, surnamed al-Manṭiqī,⁴ "the Logician," is not very well known, though he is in effect the hero of a book by Abū Ḥaiyān at-Taḥḥidī, the *Muqābasāt*.⁵ As his *nisbah* indicates, he was a native of Sijistān (Sistān) in E. Persia and belonged to the Ḥanafī rite.⁶ Originally he had studied jurisprudence (*fiqh*) but later was a pupil in Baghdad of Mattā b. Yūnus⁷ and of Yahyā b. 'Adī,⁸ both celebrated Christian scholars interested in Greek philosophy. Ibn an-Nadīm quotes Abū Sulaimān in the *Fihrist*, but the very short biographical notice there⁹ does not mention the *Šiwān al-Ḥikmah*. The *Ta'ālīq Ḥikmīyah* (*Philosophical Notes*), referred to a number of times by Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah (who does not mention the *Šiwān al-Ḥikmah*¹⁰) seems to be a different work, rather than an

¹ *Islamica*, iv, 535.

² *Ibid.*, 537.

³ Fol. 70b-72b.

⁴ E.g. Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah, i, 321.

⁵ Cf. D. S. Margoliouth in *EI.*, vol. i (1913), art. Abū Ḥaiyān; Brockelmann, *Sup.* i, 436.

⁶ Fol. 70b.

⁷ Al-Qiftī, ed. Lippert, 283.

⁸ Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah, i, 321.

⁹ Ed. Flügel, 264.

¹⁰ See the list of the works of Abū Sulaimān as-Sijistānī given by Ibn abī Uṣaibi'ah, i, 322.

alternative title.¹ Al-Qifti² describes Abū Sulaimān, apparently in later life, as afflicted with bodily ailments and somewhat of a recluse. According to the printed text of the *Muqābasāt* he was still alive in 391/1000,³ but the latest date in the notice about him in the British Museum MS. is 370/980.⁴

The general question of the sources of the *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah* and how the author used them cannot be discussed here. It seems, however, very possible that among them was the *Philosophos Historia* of Porphyry, a work in four books on the history of Greek philosophy now lost. Before the *Fihrist* was written at least half had been translated into Arabic by Abū'l-Khair al-Ḥasan b. Suwār,⁵ and the work was used later by Ibn abī Uṣaibiah.⁶ The *Muntakhab* gives the dicta of more than 130 Greek authors. Some of the articles present special difficulties, e.g. that on Aeschylus (As(k)hyūlūs), already mentioned. Is this the famous tragic poet or someone else, e.g. Aeschylus of Rhodes, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, as the author of the dicta in the MS. is said to have been?⁷ Aeschylus of Rhodes may be intended, though he is not apparently otherwise known as a philosopher. There is confirmation from the *Muntakhab* for the statement in Ibn abī Uṣaibī'ah that after the death of Aristotle, his successor Theophrastus was assisted by a certain Askhūlūs.⁸ A Greek scholar might be able to settle the question by identifying the dicta as from the surviving plays of Aeschylus the poet.

We may leave aside the classical part of the work and consider some of the articles on the learned under Islam. Of these the first

¹ The passages in Ibn abī Uṣaibī'ah, i, 15 (Aesculapius), i, 57 (Theophrastus), i, 104 (Yaḥyā an-Naḥwī), cannot be traced in the *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikmah*. The same applies to the passage from the *Ta'ālīq* quoted by Paul Kraus (*Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, Mém. Instit. Égypte*, Tome 44, Cairo, 1943, i, lxiii, n. 9) from *RAAD.*, iii (1923), 7, to the effect that a certain al-Ḥasan b. an-Nakad al-Mausili, a contemporary of Abū Sulaimān, was the author of works on alchemy which he passed off as having been written by Jābir b. Ḥayyān. The quotation comes from the little-known *Kitāb Bustān al-Aṭibbā' wa-Rauḍat al-Alibbā'* of Muwaffaq ad-Dīn As'ad b. Ilyās b. al-Maṭrān of Damascus (died 587/1191).

² Cf. n. 7, p. 84.

³ Ed. Ḥasan as-Sandūbī, Cairo, 1347/1929, 286.

⁴ Fol. 70b.

⁵ *Fihrist*, 245.

⁶ i, 38, 42 (from the account of Pythagoras, which Franz Rosenthal has shown to follow the extant Greek Life of Pythagoras by Porphyry, *Orientalia*, vi, 43-56).

⁷ Fol. 31b.

⁸ Fol. 30b, cf. Ibn abī Uṣaibī'ah, i, 57, where A. Müller suggested Aeschryon (?).

to be mentioned is Yahyā an-Naḥwī¹ (John Philoponus). I translate the beginning of the article assigned to him. "Yahyā an-Naḥwī of Alexandria. He was the first to be seen in the beginning of Islam, in the days of 'Uthmān and Mu'āwiyah, occupying himself with the books of the ancients and going deep into philosophy and medicine. He served them both as a physician, and it was from him, as is acknowledged, that Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah learned the little which he claimed of insight into these matters. He was a Christian, and the Christians reproved him for his deep study of the books of the sage Aristotle, especially the works on logic and natural science, and made all sorts of trouble for him, till he showed them his opposition to the principles (of Aristotle) and got quit of them by composing a book in which he refuted the sage and criticized his views, and another book in refutation of Proclus. It is related in a certain work that he obtained from them as a reward for what he had written in these two books a sum amounting to 10,000 *dīnārs*. But God knows best. At the same time this is not necessarily ridiculous and excessive, since the Barmecide Yahyā b. Khālīd—may God be pleased with him—gave Abān al-Lāḥiqī for his rendering the book *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* into verse, instalments of money amounting to as much as this, not to mention other donations of the Abbasid Caliphs and their courtiers to poets and others. But at that time, when people were little interested in preserving records of matters worthy of this book, the accounts of Yahyā an-Naḥwī were few, and in this article I am setting down only passages worthy of it, which I have myself collected from his works."

I pass on without comment to the following on Thābit b. Qurrah.² "He belonged to the Ṣābiāns and possessed apart from his eminence in the sciences of the ancients a large fortune and a leading position among the Ṣābiāns. I have seen a number of books composed by him upon their doctrines, which are their principal support at the present time. His influence and importance were so great that he was considered to hold a middle position between Yahyā an-Naḥwī and Proclus. He wrote a long work on them which contains several quires of paper. Abū Sulaimān as-Sijazī says, We assembled one night in the company of king Abū Ja'far b. Bānuyah (Bānwaih)³ in Sijistān, and the talk ran on the philosophers of Islam. The king

¹ Fol. 58a-58b.

² Fol. 66a-66b.

³ MS. always Bābwaih, but the name is explained by M. K. Qazvīnī, *Bist Maqālah*, ii, Teheran, 1313, 131 = *Public. Soc. Etudes iran. etc.*, No. 5, 1933, 39.

said, We have never found among them, in spite of their number, any who holds the place among us of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle (sc. among the Greeks)." "Not al-Kindī?" asked someone. "Not al-Kindī," replied the other. "Al-Kindī, in spite of his fertile genius (*ghazārah*) and originality, was vicious in style, lacking in sweetness, mediocre in conduct, and prone to attack (?) the wisdom of the philosophers. Thābit b. Qurrah was nearer to the centre and more closely devoted to this art. Then the others followed close together after them, but these two had the precedency."

This Abū Ja'far b. Bānuyah (Bānwaih), king of Sijistān, is an unfamiliar figure, whom one looks for in vain in the works of reference. He is the subject of a long article in the *Muntakhab*, which begins as follows¹: "Abū Sulaimān Muḥammad b. Tāhir b. Bahrām as-Sijazī says, The king Abū Ja'far was strong in the science of politics (*siyāsah*). Further in other subjects he possessed excellent insight, and observed the implications of politics with obvious humanity, chastity, and self-control . . . He retained in his memory more of the doctrine of the Greeks, their remarkable sayings, biographies, and circumstances than any man I ever saw. He used to say, These are particles of native gold, fresh from the mine, which has never been smelted; and again, What should we have to think of people who had such jokes and pleasantries and amusements, if they had been in earnest and had pressed out the forces of their nature with deliberate purpose? Then he said, I like the saying related of Democritus, For the swimmer in our sea there is no shore except himself. He had acquired all Aristotle's choice passages on politics in his letters and spoken words to Alexander. He used to say, The age has reached a pass quite beyond all that this philosopher represented to this king. For mankind have thrown off the restraints of religion, which unites the goods of the present and future life, and have rejected the command of reason, which harmonizes the good of small and great . . . and I know no remedy but the sword. Ziyād (sc. b. Abīhi) who was a real man among the Arabs well said, The people are corrupt, and nothing will cure them but a sharp sword, a heavy whip, and the restraint of prison. I deny two parts of this speech, for the evil has come over all who eat bread."

The author of these original sentiments was a member of the Saffarid house, who passed into the service of the Samanids and

¹ Fol. 72b-73a.

from about 320/932 to 344/955 ruled Sijistān in the Samanid interest. Muḥammad Khān Qazvinī in his *Bīst Maqālah* devotes several pages to his interesting career. Praised for learning and liberality by the Persian poet Rūdaki and the traveller Abū Dulaf, he evidently succeeded, partly as it appears through his friendship with Abū Sulaimān, author of the *Šiwān al-Ḥikmah*, in creating an important but little known centre of learning and culture at Zaranj, the capital of his distant province. He was also, perhaps, author in his own right of scientific works, especially a *Zīj aṣ-Ṣafā'ih*, repeatedly cited by al-Bīrūnī,¹ if it can be maintained that the Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin, author of the *Zīj*, engaged according to Ibn al-Athīr² in an important diplomatic mission for the Samanid Nūh b. Naṣr in 341/952, is the same man. Confirmation seems forthcoming from a passage in the *Muqābasāt*, according to which Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin was visited by Abū Sulaimān on one of his periodic trips to Sijistān.³ In any case the *Muntakhab* adds to our knowledge of Abū Ja'far of Sijistān, and, though it does not suggest how he acquired his culture, makes sufficiently plain that there was at this time in the Muslim East, as well as at the centre, at Baghdad, an interest in the works of classical antiquity.

There is an interesting passage in the *Muntakhab* about al-Kindī, as follows.⁴ "Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kindī was the first to distinguish himself among the Muslims in philosophy and all its parts, and in the exact sciences and everything connected with them, as well as by his familiarity with the sciences of the Arabs and his excellence in the polite accomplishments of grammar, poetry, judicial astrology, medicine, and the various arts and sciences, the knowledge of which is but rarely united in a single man. The list of his works exceeds a quire of paper (twenty-four sheets), written on both sides. He was the professor of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim, and for him he wrote most of his books. It was to him that he sent the most of his treatises (*rasā'il*) and his responses to his questions. He was the first to introduce this method, which has been followed since his time by succeeding generations of the followers of Islam. He was preceded indeed by those whose names became celebrated and who earned distinction in the days of al-Ma'mūn. They, however, were mostly Christians, and their writings followed the old style. Owing to the popularity of his books and

¹ *Chronology*, 183, 249, 322.

² Ed. as Sandūbī, 296.

³ Sub anno, 341 Heg.

⁴ Fol. 60a.

treatises, which are in every hand and to be found in every place, I have not searched exhaustively for select passages, nor attempted to make extracts at random from works like these, but there are a few things which I cannot avoid adorning this book with."

This passage offers the following points which are calculated to throw some light on the rise of science and philosophy among the Arabs. (1) Al-Kindī's short treatises on scientific subjects in the form of letters represent a new literary *genre* of which he was the originator. It would be easy to follow the new-style *risālah* for scientific purposes during many centuries after this both in East and West. It was, for example, a favourite mode of expression of the twelfth century Spanish philosopher Ibn Bājjah (Avenpace). (2) Al-Kindī's relation to earlier workers in his field is defined more sharply than before. His originality consisted, at least in part, in his being able, as a Muslim, to appropriate the knowledge which hitherto had been largely the special preserve of Christians. (3) Al-Kindī was able to popularize this knowledge. His books were in every hand and to be found in every place.

Quite apart from the fact that we have been dealing with an abridgment, the original *Šiwân al-Ḥikmah* appears to have been such that it corresponds less well to our modern interest than the *Fihrist* or Ibn abī Uṣaibī'ah. The author's concern was not bibliographical or biographical, but ethical and to a lesser extent philosophical. Primarily the *Šiwân al-Ḥikmah* was, it appears, a collection of dicta or wise sayings, e.g. the whole of the four-page article on 'Homer' in the *Muntakhab* is such. The biographical details in other articles have the air of being somewhat incidental. And further, the point of view from which the work was written was evidently somewhat uncritical. These considerations must qualify our judgment of the value of the work before us, but enough has been said perhaps to show that the *Muntakhab Šiwân al-Ḥikmah* which Dr. Franz Rosenthal in a recent number of *Oriens* has characterized as of "crucial importance for Graeco-Arabic studies",¹ and still more the original, if it can be found, are well deserving of further study.

¹ F. Rosenthal, "Ishāq b. Ḥunayn's *Ta'rīḫ al-aṭibbā'*", *Oriens*, vii, 1954, 59.

Association of British Orientalists
BULLETIN OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

An Annual Record of Work in Progress in Britain

1956

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- Tadbīr al-amrāl wa ma'rifat al-asbāb wa'l-a'rāḍ*. Manual of medical treatment by Muḥammad b. Asad b. Buraid al-Khuzā'i al-Anṣārī. A.H. 958. (B.M. Or. 12096.)
- Kifāyat al-akh'yār*. Commentary by Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥiṣnī on the *Kitāb al-taqrīb fī'l-fiqh* or *Ghāyat al-ikhṭiṣār*, a compendium of *Shāfi'ī Furū'* by Taqī al-Dīn Abū Shujā' al-Iṣfahānī. Fifteenth century ? (B.M. Or. 12098.)
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- al-Iṣābāḥ*, vols. ii and iii (*sīn-nūn*) of a work on the biographies of the Prophet's contemporaries by Suyūṭī. Nineteenth century. (Leeds University.)
- Uyūn al-athār*, by Ibn Sayyid al-Nās. Seventeenth century. (Leeds University.)

PERSIAN

Naẓm al-ghurur va naẓad al-durur. Persian augmented version of the *Ghurur al-hikam*. A collection of the sayings of 'Alī by 'Abd al-Wāhid Tamīmī. Nineteenth century. (B.M. Or. 12115.)

Charter of Shīr 'Alī Khān, Amir of Afghanistan (1863-79). A.H. 1290. (B.M. Or. 12102.)

Mahbūb al-siddiqin, by Aḥmad Ardistane. (Camb. U.L.)

Tārīkh-i Zendīah, by 'Abd al-Karīm 'Alī Rizā Shīrāzī. (Camb. U.L.)

TURKISH

Firmān of Sultan Mehmed IV. A.H. 1069. (B.M. Or. 12091.)

Kifāyat al-waqt li-ma'rifat al-dā'ir wa faṣl al-dā'ir wa'l-samt. On the circles of altitude parallel to the horizon. Compiled by Muṣṭafā b. 'Alī, called Muvaqqit. Eighteenth century. (B.M. Or. 12094.)

Treatise on arithmetic by Muḥāsib Çelebī 'Abd al-Raḥīm Abī Bakr of Mar'ash, in *rayḥānī* script. (B.M. Or. 12095.)

Tibb-i cevherī or *Müfredāt-i eczā*. Treatise on *materia medica* by Pāṣāzādeh Aḥmed-i Akḥīṣārī. A.H. 1111. (B.M. Or. 12108.)

Works of Fāzil-i Enderūnī. Nineteenth century. (Durham U.L., Or. Section.)

Yūsuf u Zulaiḥā in Çagatay prose. A.H. 1274. (Durham U.L., Or. Section.)

PASHTO

Faḥlnāmah by Khushhāl Khān Khaṭak. Seventeenth century? (B.M. Or. 12101.)

INDIAN LANGUAGES

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Rājopākhyāna-grantha, Bengali history of the State of Cooch Bihar, by Munshī Jayanātha Ghosha. (B.M. Or. 12092.)

A geography of the Panjab. Translated from the Persian of Būte Shāh into Panjabi by Munshī Bahlol. (B.M. Or. 12093.)

FAR EAST

Northern Buddhist magic text translated from the original Sanskrit into Tibetan. (B.M. Or. 12103.)

The Couling-Chalfant collection of some 1,800 inscribed bone and tortoise-shell fragments belonging to the Royal Scottish Museum has been deposited on long-term loan in the University Library, Oriental Section, Durham.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES,
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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Far East

STUDY ON EARLY TIBETAN CHRONICLES. By BUNKYO AOKI. pp. vi + 161. The Nippon Gakujutsu Sinkokai.

One of the most stubborn problems in Tibetan chronology is how to explain a discrepancy of some sixty years in dating the restoration of Buddhism in Central Tibet: this is caused by conflicting calculations deriving mainly from Chinese and Tibetan sources respectively. In his "Study" Dr. Aoki re-examines in considerable detail much of the principal evidence bearing on the problem and concludes that, instead of having a short reign and dying about A.D. 842, Glan Dar-ma, the persecutor of Buddhism, contrary to the usual view lived until A.D. 902. This would reduce the discrepancy to almost negligible proportions.

Neither the problem nor Dr. Aoki's reasoning can fairly be compressed and it must suffice here to say that several basic points which Dr. Aoki takes to be adequately proved are, in my opinion, still open to argument. There is also something of a hiatus in that Dr. Aoki warns against accepting, without great circumspection, statements in the Hsin T'ang Shu—which dates from about A.D. 1061—but does not attempt to explain the appearance there of information which conflicts with his theory but which can be reconciled with parts of the Tibetan tradition.

Recent studies of Tibetan history have tended more and more to confirm its general veracity and it is hard to believe that tradition could have overlooked or suppressed a reign of sixty years ending in the assassination of an aged king or that Tibetan religious historians would designate the year in which the persecutor was at last removed from the scene the year of "The Suppression of the Faith". Dr. Aoki also ignores the well-attested Tibetan tradition that Glan Dar-ma was a son of Khri Lde Sroñ Brtsan who died in A.D. 814. This is supported by the oldest surviving Tibetan historical records—the Tun Huang documents—to which, surprisingly, Dr. Aoki does not refer; and it implies that Glan Dar-ma must have been at least 27 when he came to the throne—hardly warranting the description of him as "juvenile" which is necessitated by Dr. Aoki's theory. In short, although there are obstacles to the acceptance of Dr. Aoki's view, his presentation of the evidence is thoughtful and valuable and compels a re-marshalling of the arguments to the contrary.

H. E. RICHARDSON.

THE MONGOLS AND RUSSIA. By GEORGE VERNADSKY. (New Haven: Yale University Press, London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1953.) xi + 462 pp., 3 maps (Vol. iii of *A History of Russia*, by George Vernadsky and Michael Karpovich).

The history of the Golden Horde has, in the last decades, been studied

quite extensively. Grekov, Jakubovskij, Spuler, Pelliot, to mention only a few prominent scholars, did much not only to clarify details, but also to set in perspective the Mongol state which, among all the epigone formations of the Chingiskhanide empire, was the least Mongol and the longest-lived. The subject is so vast and intricate that its real shape and volume will emerge only in the cross-lights of different disciplines. Vernadsky approaches the subject as a historian, and the foundation of this book is the author's masterly handling of Russian sources. To supplement the information so gained, Vernadsky does not hesitate to make use of the results obtained by orientalist research. He displays an impressive acquaintance with the not easily accessible, widely scattered and mostly highly technical literature that deals with problems connected with his subject.

The book consists of five main chapters: The Mongol Conquest; The Mongol Empire; The Golden Horde; The Decline of the Golden Horde, and the Resurgence of Russia; The Mongol Impact on Russia. The first two chapters, interesting as they may be, are not really relevant to the subject, and are, in my view, the weakest parts of the book. For the non-specialist this part of Mongol history is full of pitfalls and it is a compliment to Vernadsky to say that he has avoided most of them. Some of the author's statements or interpretations are open to criticism. It is more than rash to see (p. 19) in the Mongol legend of *Alan qoa* a reflexion of the story of the Virgin Mary (which story?) or to identify the first part of her name with that of the Alans (p. 17). Trifles like these detract little, however, from the value of the whole, and even these chapters constitute a useful *vue d'ensemble* for the non-specialist.

The following three chapters, dealing with the main subject of the book, allow Vernadsky to show his mastery of the historian's craft in the handling of both the details and the whole. By the amount of material put here at the disposal of future research in a most readable form, and by its original and penetrating interpretation, Vernadsky's book must count as a major contribution to the History of the Mongols and of Russia.

There are useful maps, genealogical tables, and a good index. In recent years it has become customary to swell bibliographies by including almost everything the author has ever read, or even more. The bibliography of the present book does not follow this example; it is remarkably well done, accurate, and useful.

D. SINOR.

LA DOCTRINE DE NICHIREN. By G. RENONDEAU. pp. 332. Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'Etudes. T. 58. Paris. 1953.

M. Renondeau follows up his translation of Nichiren's celebrated *Risshō Ankokuuron* in the T'oung Pao of 1950 with a fuller exposition of

the doctrine of that vehement and intolerant Japanese "saint" and translations of six of his writings. Of the translations undoubtedly the most important is that of the essay entitled *Kaimokushō* or the Eye Opener, written during Nichiren's exile on the island of Sado and generally recognized to expound the essence of his creed. Among the other works translated in this volume are the *Sōmoku Jōbutsu Kuketsu*, an interesting letter written from exile to the disciple Sairembo on the controversial question of the Attainment of Buddhahood by Plants; the *Hokke Shuyōshō*, a short essay written in praise of the Lotus Sutra; and the *Kanjin Honzonshō*, another short work, which M. Renondeau considers to be an important supplement to the *Kaimokushō* in expounding the essentials of Nichiren's doctrine.

M. Renondeau gives a most useful preliminary "Exposé" of the doctrine, dealing particularly with its development from the teachings of the Tendai school and the great stress it lays on the importance of the Lotus Sutra. The copious footnotes will be of great use to any student of Japanese Buddhism, and the work will certainly rank as a valuable addition to those of Anezaki, Arthur Lloyd, and Sir George Sansom on that most noisy and exuberant of the Japanese sects.

C. BLACKER.

LES OUÏGHOURS À L'ÉPOQUE DES CINQ DYNASTIES. By JAMES HAMILTON. Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Vol. X. Paris. 1955.

The history of Central Asia in the period following the collapse of the Uyghur empire in Mongolia in A.D. 840 is obscure. Not only are the sources more fragmentary than for the preceding period but the situation itself becomes more fragmented and confused. Yet it was a transitional period of considerable importance for it saw the rise of the first settled Turkish speaking states which led in the end to the supplanting of the native Indo-European languages by Turkish throughout Turkestan. In recent years archeological finds have made it possible to hope that eventually much more may be known, but the study of the new material has really only begun.

Dr. Hamilton has rendered a valuable service by assembling available Chinese texts of the Five Dynasties' period relating to the Uyghur kingdoms and their near neighbours, translating and annotating them, and supplementing them with three interesting documents from the Pelliot collection. To end his study in 960, a date which has relevance to Chinese history but none to that of Central Asia, seems a little arbitrary, but it is to be hoped that Dr. Hamilton will complete his work with another dealing with early Sung times.

Much of the value of Dr. Hamilton's work will lie in the details. Like Chavannes' *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, it will be consulted more often through its index than read from the beginning. Much effort

has gone into the identification of Turkish words in Chinese transcription but I must leave it to others to decide whether all of his suggestions can be regarded as acceptable. A valuable feature of his work is that he makes use not only of Karlgren's "ancient" readings but also of Lo Ch'ang-p'ei's study on the north-western dialect.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Hamilton made no use of Japanese studies. In particular, the article of Fujieda Akira, "Shashū Kigi gun setsudoshi shimatsu," *Tōhō Gakuhō* (Kyōto), 12 and 13 (in four parts), would have been of assistance to him (but I understand that it was not available in Paris). Thus in P. 2992 v° III Dr. Hamilton reads 突律飲 *yao-lü-tz'u* which he suggests may represent T. *elči* "ambassador". Fujieda's reading 突律似 *t'u-lü-ssu* (< t'or-lür-si) is certainly correct. It must represent Tölis (cf. *ttuđisa* in Khotanese texts of this time). Again where Dr. Hamilton reads 些ラ Fujieda has 些夕 and where he reads 輕, which he takes to be equivalent to 致, Fujieda has 輕 (the form is actually 輕, a well-known abbreviation).

In his introduction regarding the earlier history of the Uyghurs Dr. Hamilton might profitably have used Haneda Tōru, "Kyūsei Kaikotsu to Toquz Oγuz tonokan kei o ronzu", *Tōyō Gakuhō* 9 (1919) 1-61, 141-45; and also Sun K'ai-ti, "T'ang hsieh-pen Chang Huai-shen pien-wen pa," *CYYY* 7 (1937), 385-404, in which intimate connections of the Uyghurs with Kan Chou are shown to go as far back as the end of the seventh century, even before the rise of the Uyghur empire. Among the variants of the name P'ang-t'e-lo quoted at the bottom of page 7 I-mang-li 已 罷 歷 should be substituted for Mang-ti (cf. Hu San-hsing's commentary to the passage cited). On page 10 Dr. Hamilton translates from the *Tzu-chih tung-chien* under the year 856, "À son arrivée a Ling-wou . . . le commissaire impérial rencontra le Qayan ouïghour, qui envoya un ambassadeur. . . ." This should be, "The imperial commissioner arrived at Ling-wu. It happened that the Uyghur Qaghan had sent an ambassador. . . ." It is not implied that the Qaghan had himself come to Ling-wu.

One looks forward to seeing further researches by Dr. Hamilton and especially to his making available to us more of the unpublished material of the Pelliot collection.

E. G. PULLEYBLANK.

L'ÉPOPÉE TIBÉTAINE DE GESAR. By R. A. STEIN. pp. 399. Annales du Musée Guimet. Tome LXI. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1956. 2,000 Fr.

The warrior king Gesar is the hero of an epic known across Central Asia from Hunza to Mongolia. In Tibet his adventures are still sung by bards who can recite from memory for several days on end; and it is popularly said that the soldiery dressed in ancient armour, who take part in the New Year ceremonies at Lhasa, exchange challenges

and taunts drawn from that poem. Gesar himself is rather a vague figure. Apart from the confusion introduced by the Manchu Emperors of China who diplomatically identified him with Kuan Yü the Chinese god of war, there are traces of two main strands in the Tibetan tradition. One shows Gesar as a king of the North, sometimes associated with the Dru-gu or Turks, who was a rival subdued by the early kings of Tibet; in the other, Gesar is the ruler of the East Tibetan kingdom of Glin and himself at war with people of the north.

The poem, whether in manuscript or xylograph, is rare and usually incomplete; Dr. Stein's text is from Glin itself and so linked with the second tradition. In it the story is further transmuted by having been adopted by the Lamaist church and overlaid with Buddhist detail. On a cursory reading it would seem to be coloured also by the revival of ancient glories and traditions of Tibet inspired by Byah chub rgyal mtshan Phag mo gru pa when he shook off the domination of the Mongol Emperors of China in the fourteenth century. But beneath the veneer of later elements there can be discovered hints of the Gesar of the North and much of primitive religion and rites and of ancient folklore and customs.

Dr. Stein promises in the near future a full examination of the epic in all its aspects. In the meantime he has given us for the first time an authoritative text of all three parts of the Glin version of the epic with a resumé of its contents in translation—an abridgement it is true, but on a generous scale. He has also provided vocabularies which are particularly valuable as he had the help of Tibetans expert in the dialect and usages of Khams so that he is able to elucidate baffling words and phrases which people in central Tibet repeat but cannot understand.

Much of the story is lively and fresh and has a vein of rough humour but its main interest is the mine of material it provides for the linguist, the ethnologist, the social, and the religious historian. Dr. Stein has earned much gratitude and admiration for this work of great and lasting value and for the learning and care with which he has made light of what must have been perplexing and very laborious difficulties. No one is likely to contribute a better commentary on this rich material than he is and his forthcoming supplement will be eagerly awaited.

H. E. RICHARDSON.

KINESISKE ESSAYS i dansk oversættelse med indledning og forklaringer ved ELSE GLAHN. (Orientalisk Vidskab, under redaktion af Kaare Grønbech og C. E. Sander-Hansen.) Nyt Nordisk Forlag, Arnold Busck, København, 1956. pp. 143. Kr. 12.50 and 14.50.

This volume is the third in a series intended to make parts of the

wisdom literature of the east available to the Danish public through first-hand translations from the original languages by Danish specialists. Mrs. Glahn has selected twenty-eight essays by fourteen different authors, ranging over a period of some 1,300 years from Ch'ü Yüan to Su Shih. As she says, it would be impossible and unnatural in a translation into a language so far removed from the original as Danish to make a balanced selection of all the different kinds of essay, and she has limited herself mainly to examples of the Report (*ch'i*) and the Prose-poem (*fu*), and has allowed subject-matter precedence over style. She has aimed also at reproducing essays of importance to the history of *ku-wen* literature as a whole, in order to compensate for her stylistically one-sided selection.

The short introduction is intended merely to set the translations in the proper historical and general context for the lay public of her own country, but while briefly characterizing the work of each of the authors chosen she properly insists that they were not professional writers but officials who made literature an art and pastime for their leisure hours; for a correct judgment of them the important thing is not whether they followed one or the other stylistic school, but whether they were able to express themselves satisfactorily in the form they selected. "Whether they felt themselves attracted by Taoism or Confucianism it was their own problems and the problems of their time which they sought to solve within the precepts of the various schools." It is quite right, in a popular work, to insist that delicacy of style and sophistication of language do not necessarily imply a vain chinoiserie, but may on the contrary accompany a whole, mature, realistic vision. It is, perhaps, for this reason that Mrs. Glahn ends her selection with Su Shih, for though the essay genre has continued up to our day, much of it is, as she says, "empty traditionalism."

The translations have been made with evident love and care and read smoothly, too, as European literature. It is to be hoped that Mrs. Glahn may in future feel able to publish in a language which will assure her a larger circle of readers.

CHARLES BAWDEN.

Near and Middle East

SOCIAL FORCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Ed. S. N. FISHER. pp. xvi + 282. Oxford University Press, New York.

This book is a symposium of papers presented to a conference held at Princeton on 24th-25th October, 1952, and revised in the light of discussions. The conference tried to "emphasize the forces of change presently at work together with the strong traditional element, current in the area". Members were requested "to examine not what the

Western World thinks about the peoples and institutions of the Near East, but the attitude, convictions, and inclinations of the peoples themselves". Further, they were encouraged to look at the contemporary scene analytically rather than descriptively, and chiefly from the viewpoint of distinct members of various occupational groups—nomads, villagers, intellectuals, and so on. Such a study of the Near East in terms of "vocational groups" is interesting, but movement and trends are only occasionally seen in this perspective. The full significance of Western impact on life and its interaction with the local heritage of the Near East is not seen clearly. Nationalism and "the Islamic revival" are hardly discussed as social and cultural forces. So, too, educational trends and policies.

Paper I attempts to relate social forces to the pertinent cultural background. But a deeper study of two factors is required—heritage (language, history and religion) and the impact of the West. For example "Shiism" is basically political, not cultural, and that is why both Iran and Yemen, different in cultural traditions, asserted themselves through "Shiism". To attribute the ills of the Middle East—poverty, disease, illiteracy, nay, the appearance of landlords and the emergence of governments "from the few to the few", to underlying cultural ills produced by "traditional Islam, with its anachronistic trends in the socio-political sphere" ignores the effect of four centuries of Ottoman rule in Arab countries, and glosses over "colonialism, imperialism, and foreign exploitation". To describe nationalism as xenophobia created by weak governments is to ignore the stirrings of life in the area. The logical conclusion to the writer's diagnosis would be not to separate religions from state but to uproot Islam as a cultural force and create a secondhand copy of Western society. Such an approach fails to note that the trend in the Middle East is towards modernization and not westernization. The writer takes too little account of history in medieval and modern times.

Paper II turns from a factual survey to "a plea for the preservation of the nomads". But such an attempt by the West would be viewed with suspicion. One look at the proceedings of "the IVth Conference on social problems" of the Arab League would make it clear that locally the settling of nomads is regarded as an essential step to progress and modernization.

Paper III duly stresses the importance of the villager, and explains that agriculture for him "became a way of life, a point of view". It contends that the impact of westernization and technique introduced changes in agriculture, but left "the village unaffected and the peasant unmoved". Yet new means of communications, and schools—though they mostly draw villagers to towns—are gradually leading to change. And some governments are improving conditions by health services, social services, illiteracy campaigns, technical advice, and land projects.

Paper V on the "industrial worker" distinguishes peasants, artisans, and factory workers, the first two classes members of the traditional pattern of society, and the third linked to westernization. Western influence has not been merely that of "neutral technology". It disrupted the social organization of artisans—medieval *asnāf*—with much of their values and social significance, and new guilds are still a superstructure with no roots. Besides, factory workers have been exposed to new conflicting ideologies and led to take an increasing interest in public life. Generally they have no technical or other education, and so have advanced "neither in terms of skill nor of social attitudes".

Paper VI gives an analytical account of the merchants and of the *sūqs* (markets)—their functional location, the goods they cater for, and their "crucial role as the mediators of the multiplicity of forces of change in the Middle East".

Paper VII describes the growth of industries and an entrepreneur class. Distinction is drawn between countries, like Syria and Lebanon, where the growth is spontaneous, and countries, like Turkey, where government took the initiative. Iraq and probably Egypt show a combination of both. National consciousness and the feeling that independence and strength depend much on native financial enterprise have been important motives for governments or pioneers to take the initiative. The interest of merchants in industry has been due to their fluid capital, business ability, and Western contacts. An analysis of the relation between westernization and industry and between industrialization and the conditions of a country's economy would be valuable.

Paper VIII deals with planning—economic, technical, and social. The prospects are depicted as rather grim—lack of funds and trained personnel, the passive attitude of the masses, the vacillating attitudes of governments to business, and the lack of political stability. Two points need emphasis. It is felt that foreign experts do their best but they need local colleagues aware of local conditions, social, cultural, and economic. Secondly, planning must be co-ordinated and over-all. For traditional reasons government initiative or support is essential in any major enterprise.

Paper IX is an analysis of conditions leading to military rule. The failure of democracy in application, its failure to provide agreement on fundamentals, its emphasis on liberty rather than equality—thus furthering the interests of the few—have all diverted attention to the military. Other factors are the absence of a middle class, the great speed of westernization after World War I, and the need for social and economic reform. Finally the impact of the Palestine War brought matters to a head.

One would like to read how democracy was initiated. Was there any preparation and education for it and what forces supported it? The

important role of the "nationalists" is hardly touched upon. The party system and its failure to penetrate to the masses or to ensure loyalty to principles rather than persons needs consideration. Impatience with gradual reforms and political instability have had their impact. Finally, the military have come to power in times of crisis involving national honour, when Turkey was occupied after World War I, when Iran was in confusion, and in Egypt and Syria after the Palestine War. However, this paper is one of the finest for penetration and depth.

Paper XI is most interesting in approach and analysis. Its definition of the "intellectual" or "the man who makes a habit of using his mind to see the world as it metaphysically is" is especially relevant to an analysis of modern developments in Islam.

The lecturer speaks of the apologetic attitude of modern intellectuals for Islam and attempts at its glorification, a temporary symptom of slowly giving way to positive attempts at a critical understanding of Islam and of civilization.

Paper XII draws no distinction between ethnic (e.g. Kurds) and religious minorities. Ethnic minorities are generally Muslim, thus culturally integrated, but Christians also play a significant part in Arab nationalism. Culture and nationalism are pillars in the creation of the new society. The remark that people in the Near East "cannot distinguish between religion and nationality" could hardly be maintained.

Paper XIV, on the refugee problem, states that Israel cannot accept repatriation because the refugees would create an internal military threat, and because their lands and houses "no longer exist!" The Arab states must take the refugees and try to achieve what the lecturer terms "in essence a guided social and economic revolution". He forgets his own remark that none of the Arab states could survive accepting such "realities".

Chapter XIX is a solid analysis of a great "crisis" in the Near East explained in terms of oil and strategy. The crisis of society—economic, social, institutional, and cultural—has been accelerated by westernization, but started earlier. Near Eastern society is trying to discover and enhance its potentialities—both cultural and material—and to transform itself into a modern (Arab or Persian or Turkish) society. There is, however, much impatience about the rate of progress and a drive to move faster on the way to reach the caravan of the West.

A. A. DURI.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE OTTOMAN DYNASTY. By A. D. ALDERSON.
pp. xvi, 159. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1955. £4.

Eighteen short chapters deal with such complex problems as, for example, the succession to the Ottoman throne, the "law of fratricide",

pretenders, abdication, and the Harem. These chapters are founded largely on genealogical charts and tables derived in the main from six standard works which "present a mass of conflicting evidence and are far from complete" (Introduction, p. xiii). There is, also, a full bibliography of the sources—most of them secondary and some, indeed, written for "popular" consumption—on which the author has relied for additional data. Mr. Alderson observes (Introduction, pp. xiii-xiv) that his book "is based almost entirely on the research of others. There is little in it that is strictly original . . . its chief aim . . . is to act as a synthesis, bringing together many related subjects which have so far never been considered in conjunction". A grave doubt must be raised as to the wisdom of an enterprise at once so bold and, in view of the defective means available, so perilous. The literature devoted to Ottoman studies provides as yet no corpus of detailed and exhaustive research into the problems here under discussion. Where so much of the basic material is of uncertain value, no valid synthesis can be achieved. Although Mr. Alderson has laboured with assiduous care at his chosen task, his own admissions make it clear that the result is in fact a *compendium ex compendiis* more liable, by its very nature, to perpetuate old errors and confusions than to confer on the historian new and solid benefits.

V. J. PARRY.

LA GRÈCE ET SABA. Une nouvelle base pour la chronologie Sud-Arabe.
By JACQUELINE PIRENNE. (Extrait des Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, tome XV, pp. 89-196.) pp. 108 + 11 plates. Paris, 1955.

Mlle. Pirenne has written a most stimulating monograph which bids fair to shake some of the most cherished foundations on which students of South Arabian civilization had long built: the claim of the Minæans as the most ancient of the four South Arabian states and the Assyro-Sabæan synchronism of the eighth century B.C. Upon the old structure so vigorously demolished by her she places, instead, a Greco-Sabæan synchronism which she erects with great erudition and admirable documentation drawn from a careful examination of palæographical and archæological criteria and supported by a study of comparative art and numismatics. Not all her theories are new; indeed, other scholars (such as A. F. L. Beeston) had argued for a reduction in the number of the *mukarribs*; W. F. Albright and J. Ryckmans had proposed a shorter chronology (no longer allowing the Minæans priority over the Sabæans); Prætorius, Conti Rossini, and Dussaud had recognized the startling connections between the Greek and South Arabian alphabets and the difficulty of deriving the latter from the Phœnician prototype. But it was left to Mlle Pirenne to produce an integrated hypo-

thesis on the basis of all the epigraphic and historical material now at our disposal. One may well have reservations and misgivings on individual points, but there can be little doubt that the author has asked all the right questions and given many of the correct answers. It is only in the Akkadian sphere that her documentation is somewhat weak, and the reader himself has to find the places in the Assyrian annals where the Sabæan kings are mentioned.

The author detects in the rise and prosperity of the South Arabian states the great impact of Greek commerce in the Near East—apparent in the evolution of the monumental script and in a form of art (e.g. the Dumbarton Oaks bronze horse) that clearly owes its inspiration to Greco-Persian models. That Greek influence extended from the Black Sea in the north to the Red Sea and Arabia in the south is Mlle. Pirenne's principal contention.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF.

ÜBER BILDUNGEN MIT Š(S) -UND N-T-DEMONSTRATIVEN IM SEMITISCHEN.

By FRITHIOF RUNDGREN. *Index Verborum* bound separately. pp. 352. Ph.D. dissertation, Uppsala, 1955.

This industrious and richly-documented piece of research is firmly anchored in the theory, accepted to some degree by most scholars, that the Semitic pronouns are composed of one-phoneme "deictic elements". It traces occurrences, first of deictic š (s) and then of nt (without intervening vowel), language by language, mainly in the Ethiopian group, with parallels in other Semitic languages and in Kushitic, Egyptian, and Berber.

It suffers from the chief weakness of the theory, that the value of linguistic comparisons decreases the smaller the number of elements compared. In the case of š (s), Rundgren fails to prove his case. He discourses learnedly on Ge'ez *əssəma* "because", *sōba* "when", *əška* "until", *əsfəntū* "how much?", Accadian *aššum* "concerning" and *šumma* "when", and common Sem. *ši/umu* "name", but apart from the fact that none of these are pronominal, it is quite inconceivable what the meaning-value of the š (s) element in them could have been (p. 181, R. cautiously accepts V. Christian's idea that s denotes "*Ferndeixis*"). Even less clear is the "deictic" content of the causative prefix and the *sa* in Ar. *laisa* "is not" and the future prefix *sa-*. It would seem that all we can say is that all these words contain š or s as a phoneme, and that to go further comes dangerously near to the well-known attempts at discovering symbolic value in individual phonemes. With the only certain instances of pronominal š, in the 3rd person personal pronouns of Accadian, Minean, and Modern South-Arabian, R. deals cursorily and rather inconclusively (pp. 184-5, 196). The chief gain from this part of the book seems to be the collection of

evidence for a common Ethiopian emphatic suffix *-s*, *-ssa*, which may possibly be borrowed from Low Cushitic (p. 101); it is, of course, not pronominal or deictic. A fact which does not seem to have struck R. as significant is that in most languages it is restricted to pronouns, only in Ge'ez can it be employed without restriction. This wider use may well have arisen through the need of finding a universal equivalent for δέ in the translations.

There is no doubt about the pronominal character of the G. fem. rel. pr. *ěnta*, also used as a vague preposition, and it is certainly right to connect with it numerous particles and copulas in the modern Ethiopian languages, in some of which it appears, with partial assimilation, as *-nd-*. Rundgren also thinks it appears as *-d-* but the instances of this are mostly negative words, and may be explained from a Semito-Cushitic negative *d*.¹

I cannot judge the value of the somewhat hesitant comparison with Eg. *nt-k* "thou", *nt-f* "he", etc., and the relative adjective *nty*. The Semitic parallels adduced, Heb. Acc. *itt-* "with", Acc. adverbial suffix *-attam*, and late colloquial² Babylonian *attū'-a* "mine", etc., are unconvincing. Rundgren considers *ěnta* an "Unikum" (p. 199) and analyses it as a deictic *n* followed by a *t*-suffix, largely because this permits him to connect it with Cushitic *n*-pronouns. Pronominal *n* is, of course, attested by Acc. *annū* "this", but in view of the fact that *t* marks the fem. in some Ar. demonstratives (Namāra *ty*, Early Ar. *tā*, Class. Ar. *tīlka*, etc.), I would like to suggest another origin for *ěnta*, namely, that it arose by partial assimilation from **il-tā* (cf. Tigrinya *ēl* = G. *ēlla*, p. 227), corresponding to the semantically equivalent Ar. *allatī* (cf. in the Dathina colloquial *ildhī* besides *illedhī*).³

The two deictic elements take up only a small part of the book. Rundgren examines also many words in which the presence of these elements is *a priori* unlikely, and where he reaches negative conclusions; yet some of these words are brought up again and again with each language in which they occur. Perhaps the most glaring example is **timāl-* "yesterday", very tentatively analysed as **intimāl*, but

¹ Cf. my *Ancient West-Arabian*, p. 40.

² Cf. Von Soden, *Grundriss d. Akkad. Gr.*, § 44f. I would like to suggest that these forms came about by "popular etymology": in the old forms *yattun*, *kattum*, *šattum*, etc., the *-attum* was felt to be a significant element, and all that was done was to transfer the pronominal elements from the apparent prefixed position to the more usual suffixed one.

³ This may give us the etymology of G. *ěnza*, which with the impf. forms the normal equivalent to Greek participles. It is to Ar. *alladhī* as *ěnta* is to *allatī*. To render a participle by a relative clause is of course a common device in English. In a case like Gn. iii, 8: "they heard the voice of God walking (περιπατοῦντος) in the Garden," the G. *ěnza yaḥawwēr wěsta gannat* could just as well be translated as "who was walking in the garden". From such cases its use may have been enlarged to those where the antecedent is f. or pl. or 1st and 2nd person, until it became a participle—following in this respect *ěnta*—and was in its original rel. function replaced by *za*.

discussed (with its derivatives) in seven different places.¹ Moreover, there are many digressions loosely or not at all connected with the subject. One of the most interesting is that on G. *wě'ētū* "he", *yě'ētū* "she" (pp. 188-197), for which R. rejects on phonetic grounds² the accepted derivation from **hū'ātū*, **hī'atū*,³ proposing instead reduplicated **hū-hū-tū*, **hī-hī-tū*. The parallel adduced, Syr. *hūyū* < *hū-(h)ū* is inapplicable, because it means "he is", with the two *hū* originally independent words. A better parallel would be Talmudic Aramaic *ihū* "he", f. *ihī*, which many scholars regard as reduplicated *hū*, *hī* (with vowel dissimilation in the masc.), especially as it shows the same dissimilatory loss of *h* as *wě'ētū*. Useful as it is, this excursion contributes little to the elucidation of *ēnta*; other digressions are admittedly introduced only to show up the poor method of Rundgren's predecessors (he loves distributing good and bad marks), e.g. the one on 'Urqūb, pp. 134-7, and that on the Semito-Hamitic tenses, pp. 320-332. Not that these digressions are devoid of interest: they present in an accessible form much information on the modern Ethiopic languages—generally neglected by the general Semitist—including some unpublished material from the lectures of the late Swedish scholar J. Kolmodin, and are often stimulating.

C. RABIN.

VILLAGE PERSE-ACHÉMÉNIDE. By R. GHIRSHMAN. Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran, Tome XXXVI, pp. 102, figs. 11, pls. liii. Paris, 1954.

The work of the Mission de Susiane, interrupted by the war, was resumed in 1946 under the direction of Dr. R. Ghirshman. One of the first tasks undertaken was an investigation of Tell IV at Susa, the report on which is offered in the present volume. The results obtained provide important evidence of the first settlement of Persian tribes in South-West Iran and so help to bridge the gap between the proto-historic civilizations of the country, as known from Sialk, Luristan, and Giyan, and the historic civilization of the Achæmenid Empire.

The excavations uncovered a house built on virgin soil and twice reconstructed. Elamite and Akkadian tablets found in association indicate that its occupation began at the end of the eighth or early in the seventh century B.C. and came to an end shortly before or soon

¹ The connection of the *-māl-* element with Heb. *māl* (twice *mōl*) "opposite" and the root *'wl* (p. 292) is of course phonetically impossible.

² Which has, however, been much strengthened now by the הוּאָה, הוּאָה of the Dead Sea Scrolls, going back to **hū'at*, **hī'at* (with short *a*, as we must assume in Ge'ez).

³ The *ū* and *ī* of the G. forms are perhaps to be explained as "présentatifs", as in the 3rd sg. pronouns of the Central-Arabian *Slūt* colloquial, *her'ū*, f. *her'ī* (cf. J. Cantineau, *Études sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes de l'orient*, in *AIEO* 2-3 (1936-7), p. 107 of the offprint).

after the conquest of Persia by Alexander. It was of unusual size for a village and Dr. Ghirshman suggests that it was inhabited by a clan or large family, the members of which continued to reside there on marriage, a social organization which he connects with the transition from a nomadic to a sedentary existence. Since the pottery, metal-work, and other objects of the earliest level have comparatively few affinities with Elamite civilization but are closely related to the material of the Luristan tombs and Cemetery B at Sialk Dr. Ghirshman attributes the foundation of the Susa village to Persian tribesmen who moved down from the Iranian plateau towards the end of the eighth century B.C. The objects recovered, although undistinguished, have a special interest since they are the first known examples of the popular art of the Achaemenid period. Like the royal art, this reflects the influence of the superior civilizations with which the Persians were in contact in the course of their history. In particular it provides further evidence of Anatolian and Aegean influences during the early stages of their migration, a subject discussed in detail by Dr. Ghirshman.

J. M. MUNN-RANKIN.

GUNPOWDER AND FIREARMS IN THE MAMLUK KINGDOM : A CHALLENGE TO A MEDIEVAL SOCIETY. By DAVID AYALON. pp. xvii + 154. Valentine Mitchell, London, 1956. 30s.

The sidelines of history are generally far more absorbing, from a human point of view, than the main trends. Professor Ayalon's book deals with a local segment of such a sideline, and he has made of it an extremely interesting and scholarly study.

The first two of its three chapters are comparatively short, dealing with the beginnings of the use of firearms under the Mamluks, and with the technical terms employed in the sources. They are subordinate and introductory to the third, "The Attitude of Mamluk Military Society towards the use of Firearms," which is Professor Ayalon's main theme, as he explains in his Preface.

The attitude of the Mamluks to the new-fangled weapon was, as might be expected, one of contempt and derision—it was un-Muslim, it was "not cricket". They stubbornly refused to learn from the successes of the Ottoman Turks, won by artillery and hand-guns, so that when they came face to face with the Janissaries of Selim the Grim at Marj Dābiq and Raydāniya such artillery as they put in the field proved hopelessly insufficient and almost useless. The despised Turkish infantry made a shambles of the knightly chivalry of their opponents, very much as Kitchener's machine-guns mowed down the gallantly charging Dervishes at Omdurman four centuries later. Afterwards, the captive Amir Kurtbāy made a pathetic appeal to Sultan Selim, "... a single one of us can defeat your whole army. If you

do not believe it, you may try ; only please order your army to stop shooting with firearms ! ”

Professor Ayalon illustrates his text with plentiful quotations from original sources, and each chapter is provided with copious notes and references. He points out that besides the instinctive contempt of the Mamluks for foot-soldiers (firearms had not yet reached the stage of being used on horseback), and their grudging enrolment of black slaves and other socially inferior classes as gunners, there were powerful economic causes working in the same direction ; for example, all metal had to be imported, and the financial state of the Mamluk kingdom had been steadily deteriorating during the century before the Ottoman conquest. This is a fascinating and excellently written monograph, providing one more illustration of the old Persian proverb, “ History is a Mirror of the Past and a Lesson for the Present.”

B. W. ROBINSON.

SECRETS OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS: STUDIES TOWARDS THEIR SOLUTION. By HUGH J. SCHONFIELD. pp. ii + 164. Valentine Mitchell, London, 1956. 21s. net.

Books upon the Jordan Valley scrolls have followed one after another, and public interest has not waned. This latest volume is by a scholar and historian whose researches over many years have led him into the byways as well as the highways of Rabbinic and patristic literature. His survey of the historical background and his speculations as to the possible meaning of part of the texts are, therefore, welcome as contributing new suggestions towards the solution of problems which exercise scholars and to which, as yet, no entirely satisfactory answers have been found.

His analysis of the Qumran documents starts, naturally, with that of the two fragments known as the Damascus Document, found in the lumber-room of an ancient Jewish synagogue on the outskirts of Cairo, and published in 1910. For this was composed by a person or persons of the Zadokite sect—a group of dissident Jewish pietists who had so much in common with the Qumran sect that it is evident that the two shared the same background and tradition ; for instance, like the Qumran Habbakuk Commentary, the Damascus Document contained references to a “ Teacher of Righteousness ”.

The identity of this personage has aroused speculation and Dr. Schonfield deals with the matter in a way both cautious and interesting. According to the Damascus Document there were two “ Teachers of Righteousness ”. One of them suffered martyrdom at the hands of a “ wicked priest ”, and Dr. Schonfield assigns to this heroic figure a date before the Christian era, suggesting that he was a leader “ who appeared about 175 B.C., seemingly a priest and chasid, who organized

the emigration to the land of Damascus, founded the Community of the New Covenant and drew up its rules".

The other, still expected by the New Covenant party at Qumran during the first and early second centuries, was also to be a priest and to be the herald of a Messianic period. The martyred Teacher was to be followed by a Teacher of Righteousness in "the End of the Days".

Dr. Schonfield is the first, as far as I know, to discover that both the authors of the Damascus Document and the Qumran scribes, when they wished to disguise the name of a person or place, made use of a cipher known as *atbash*. This, it seems, is used four times in Jeremiah, and Dr. Schonfield points out that in one instance, which he quotes, it is evident that the septuagint translator of Jeremiah understood the cipher. It was a simple form of mystification which, starting at both ends of the Hebrew alphabet of twenty-two letters substituted *tau* for *aleph*, *shin* for *bet*, and so on. Applying this to some words which puzzle translators of the Damascus and Qumran texts, he obtains interesting results. For instance, in references to a "Book of Hagu" which occur in the Damascus text and the Qumran "Manual of Discipline", the mysterious "Hagu" is converted into the Hebrew **הָגוּ**, meaning "to refine" or "test", thus making the title of the work "Book of Proof" or "Test-Book". He goes on to apply this method of decipherment to other names and gives references to Rabbinic texts which seem apposite.

Like Professor Rowley who broadcast recently about the Scrolls, Dr. Schonfield shows how widely spread among the Jews between about 25 B.C. and A.D. 75 was a fervent expectation of a Messiah, and he reviews evidence of this in writings like the "Testament of Moses" written early in the first century A.D. He is too modest and careful a scholar not to be aware that it is difficult to get a coherent picture of the times or of the beliefs and fate of this curious community of semi-monastic pietists. But he has succeeded in helping to achieve such an end.

E. S. DROWER.

Islam

THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD. A Translation of Ishāq's (*sic*) *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, with an Introduction and Notes. By A. GUILLAUME. pp. xlvii + 815. Oxford University Press, 1955.

The indefatigable Wuestenfeld published the Arabic text of the *Sīrah* nearly a century ago, and the almost equally industrious Gustav Weil translated it into German in 1864. Research has not stood still since then. Professor Guillaume has tracked down more recent improvements and embodied them in his version of a work which displays a picture of the ideal that true believers see in the founder of Islam,

whose genealogy in an early passage is traced back to Adam. The materials upon which the picture is based are annals derived from traditional sources, interspersed with masses of poetry intended to illustrate certain historical events, some of them hardly contemporary. So what we have is not strictly "The Life of Muhammad", but a translation of the *Sīrah*. As such it is a good piece of work. It might have adhered even more closely to the Arabic text, particularly in the rendering of doggerel verse. For it is a book which might be useful to the student of Arabic as a "crib".

There is a substantial Introduction, but it is sternly composed out of the kind of materials that make scholarly footnotes. It makes no concession to the beginner or to those readers who, taking a general interest in religions, literatures, and civilizations outside their own, like to be led by easy paths into the strange land. Even more experienced travellers would sometimes like a clue to the author's very numerous abbreviations. None is provided. The general indexes are reasonably good, but that on the subject-matter might have been fuller in a work so abounding in miscellaneous contents.

R. LEVY.

ÜÇ TEHÂFÜT BAKIMINDAN FELSEFE VE DİN MÜNASEBETİ. (The relationship between philosophy and religion, from the point of view of three *Tahāfut*.) By MUBAHAT TÜRKER. Ankara, 1956. pp. xix + 419.

This is a postgraduate thesis presented at the University of Ankara, and it consists of a comparative study of the *Tahāfutu'l-Falāsifa* of Gazali, the *Tahāfutu'l-Tahāfut* of Averroes, and the *Tahāfutu'l-Falāsifa* of Khwājazāde (Hocazade) Muslihuddin Mustafā b. Yūsuf al-Brusawi. This last writer was a Turk who lived in the fifteenth century (ob. 1488), and his book is stated to have been written to the order of Sultan Mehmed II. The present work has a long introduction (63 pp.) dealing with the background of the subject and the texts used. The body of the book (pp. 65-338) is devoted to a comparison and analysis of the views of the three writers on a wide range of topics, grouped under the headings *Tabīyat* and *Ilāhiyat*, the arguments being presented in extracts from the original texts in Turkish translation. The final section (pp. 339-397) is a discussion of the conclusions to be drawn from the analyses made. The book contains a bibliography, and there are many references to the literature of the subject.

It is not possible here to give a critical assessment of this work. One point of interest is the language used. This contains some neologisms, calques, and European loanwords, but on the whole it is conservative and retains much of the Arabic philosophic terminology.

C. S. MUNDY.

THE UNIQUE IBN AL-BAWWAB MANUSCRIPT IN THE CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY. By Dr. D. S. RICE. Fol., 36 pp. + xvi plates. Dublin: Emery Walker, Ltd., 1955.

This splendidly produced and illustrated volume is a study of a magnificent Qur'an (No. K 16 in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin), copied in 391/1000-1 by 'Ali ibn Hilal called Ibn al-Bawwab, who is perhaps the most famous of all Arabic calligraphers and credited with originating the *naskh* script-style. Apart from its beautiful calligraphy, the manuscript is lavishly ornamented with *sarlawh*, decorative rosettes, and so forth, and Dr. Rice's text analyses these and similar features with amply documented and copious comparisons with other manuscripts of this period. His work is a major contribution to the study of the development of early Islamic book decoration.

The use of the word "unique" in the title is justified by Dr. Rice on the score that five other manuscripts attributed to Ibn al-Bawwab's pen are forgeries. He is able to demonstrate that MS. Bağdat 125 in the Topkapu Saray in Istanbul, and No. 499 in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, though both fine eleventh-century manuscripts, are not Ibn al-Bawwab autographs; while Nos. 1024 and 2015 in the latter collection, together with British Museum MS. Add. 26126, are plainly not earlier than the fourteenth century.

At the time of writing, Dr. Rice had not yet had the opportunity to examine a further manuscript which purports to be written by 'Ali ibn Hilal, namely Munich, Aumer No. 791, and consequently he has not referred to it in his work under review. He has, however, subsequently informed me that on the basis of photographs he is convinced that this, too, belongs to the fourteenth century.

A. F. L. BEESTON.

MUHAMMAD AT MEDINA. By W. MONTGOMERY WATT. pp. 418, map. Clarendon Press, 1956. 42s.

In spite of rumours, no discoveries have thrown new light on the life of Muhammad, so that the only justification for a fresh book is a close examination of existing evidence. So Dr. Watt has given us a minute inquiry into the relations of the tribes and clans in Arabia as a whole and in Mecca and Medina in particular to each other and to Muhammad. Arabia was in a state of unrest because the old order was changing and men were uncertain of themselves. The tribal (communal) system was beginning to break down and give place to individualism; the matriarchal system, where it had existed, was giving way to the patriarchal and strong men exploited for themselves family or tribal property to the detriment of the weak and orphans. Hence the emphasis in the Koran on the rights of the poor and friendless. Speaking generally, the smaller clans in Medina, in proportion to their size, gave more

support to Muhammad because they distrusted the ambitions of the stronger. The "hypocrite", Ibn Ubayy, was not to be distinguished at first from other lukewarm Muslims but he earned the epithet by showing his displeasure at some actions of Muhammad, especially, perhaps, the banishment of the Banu Qaynuqa' which deprived him of many supporters. In Medina Muhammad was at first in danger and had to walk carefully for the Emigrants were living on charity while he himself had no secular authority and could use only persuasion on enemies and half-hearted friends. This weakness was not completely overcome till the failure of the "Ditch". Muhammad foresaw that his goal of an Arabia at peace with itself would lead to over-population and famine and so looked forward to some expansion, probably towards Syria, as is shown by his interest in the north, culminating in the expeditions to Mu'ta and Tebuk. A quotation will show the writer's opinion of Muhammad:—

In general it was not Muhammad's way to have definite policies . . . What he did have was a balanced view of the fundamentals of the contemporary situation and of his long-term aims, and in the light of these he moulded his day-to-day plans in accordance with the changing factors in current events.

He suggests that the so-called constitution of Medina is not all of a piece but shows signs of revision; the arguments are in part linguistic.

The book is a sympathetic study of a remarkable man; it is perhaps rather wordy and is not easy reading; indeed Dr. Watt advises the general reader to skip judiciously two chapters. But anyone who wants to know the subject must read the book.

A. S. TRITTON.

India and Pakistan

SOUTH INDIAN POLITY. By T. V. MAHALINGAM. University of Madras. pp. 396 + (bibl.) 13 + (index) 64. 1955. Rs. 13.

Ancient Indian literary sources on law and politics are supplemented, corroborated, and sometimes explained by the contents of inscriptions, which are especially numerous in South India, though many remain, unaccountably, unpublished. Dr. Mahalingam's interest in Administration and skill as an epigraphist were manifested more than fifteen years ago, and this almost exhaustive account of kingship, the administration of justice, revenue, local and central government, and military organizations as seen chiefly through documents up to *ca.* 1650 will be welcomed even by historians not primarily interested in Southern India.

Tamil sources are exploited somewhat more than Kannada or Telugu. An individual record will, of course, seldom support a generalization,

a danger not clearly avoided on pp. 120, 171, 203. Interpretation is eminently sound; but even oligarchy is compatible with conservatism or a feeble political sense (pp. 5-6); *siddhāya* does not necessarily imply revenue-farming (p. 178); nor does the appointment of a Visitor for a foundation (p. 147) imply a State Trusts Department. Poetical imagery or theoretical advice may prove mentality, but not practice (pp. 72, 207, 285). Succession-duties and escheat are not mentioned, nor methods of tax-evasion. The word *garuḍa* should appear on p. 65 and varieties of *kāṇikkai* on p. 174. Mill is not worth quoting on classical legal jurisdictions (p. 204). A throng of unexplained terms (e.g. "seven oceans", *māneya* (sic), *tānattār*, *alcald*) tend to hamper the non-specialist. *Vīragals* were not tombstones (p. 287). "Sometime" and "everyday" are misused and "caste-war" (for "caste-wise") is a barbarism. But despite its rather dry subject-matter the book makes very interesting reading and is commendably low-priced.

J. D. M. DERRETT.

THE PADMAVAT OF MALIK MUHAMMAD JAYASI. Ed. by V. S. AGRAWALA. Sahityasadan, Chirgaon, Jhansi, 1955. Rs. 15.

This monumental edition of Jayasi's great romantic epic will be indispensable to all students of Hindi literature. Consisting of nearly a thousand closely printed pages it has been handsomely produced at a very moderate price. For the text, Dr. Agrawala has followed very closely that edited by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta (Hindustani Academy, 1951). In this, by scholarly appraisal of all available manuscripts, a great advance was made on what were previously the best printed editions—that of Grierson and Sudhakar (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1911, up to the twenty-fifth canto only), and that of Ramchandra Sukla (*Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, 2nd edition, 1935). Over forty stanzas (nearly 6 per cent of the whole) which marred the sense or sequence of the poem, have been rejected as spurious, and improvements have been made in countless other passages. Dr. Agrawala has also been able to make use of three other very important manuscripts which came to light when his work was in the press.

But it is not only by virtue of the text that this edition has the advantage over all earlier ones, not excepting the annotated English translation which Sir George Grierson left unfinished in 1911 and which was completed and published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* in 1944. Dr. Agrawala has also succeeded in solving many of the obscurities which still remained in this difficult but fascinating work. In doing this he has shown great critical acumen and deep knowledge of the many strands of thought that make up the texture of Jayasi's work. At the same time he has kept steadily in view the allegory which is the central

thought of this Sufi "Masnavi", that of the consummation of human love in the soul's love for God. "By love, man becomes fit for heaven" is the divine oracle which the hero receives when he has reached in his pilgrimage the earthly paradise where he is to find the beloved. There is in this a striking parallel to the central thought of the *Divina Commedia*, and, like Dante ("Io mi son un che quando Amore spira, noto"), Jayasi, in his introduction and his epilogue, as well as in many personal passages throughout the poem, speaks of himself as the poet of love.

A. G. SHIRREFF.

FORT WILLIAM. India House Correspondence. Vol. XVII, 1792-1795.

Ed. by Y. J. TARAPOREVALA. National Archives of India, 1955.

9½ in. by 6 in. pp. 576 + xiv. Rupees 25 or 38s. 6d.

The period covered by this new volume of the Indian Records Series is one of interest and importance. The East India Company's Government was faced with the general disorder prevailing, mainly owing to the rise of predatory Powers with formidable armies. The only really hostile Power of this description was that of Tipu Sultan in Mysore against whom the Maratha and the Nizam's Governments combined with the Company's Government in defeating him decisively, though, as it proved, not finally. The Marathas in turn defeated the Nizam, who was only saved by the rivalry between the Brahman Government of the Peshwa at Poona and the new Maratha powers of Sindia, Holkar, and the Bhosle of Nagpur. The firm and yet unaggressive policy of Cornwallis, even as continued by Shore, his more vacillating successor as Governor-General, prevented further serious warfare, though the weakness and maladministration of the Nawab Vazir's Government of Oudh entailed a brief and decisive encounter between the Company's troops and the Rohillas of Upper India. Incursions from Nepal, Burma, and Assam, and the consequent flight of refugees, entailed operations on these frontiers. The activities of the French in India were rendered more complicated, if less formidable, by the Revolution in France, and it became necessary to occupy the Indian possessions of the French and the Dutch, whose country had been overrun by the French. The first contact between India and the United States of America was made by the arrival in 1794 of an American Consul, though owing to ill health his stay was brief, and he was not replaced till another half-century had elapsed.

The spelling of names and places has presented the usual difficulties. While most of the old names have legitimately been written, even if to some extent disguised, by modern standards, the practice has not been entirely uniform. The Koli pirates of Guzerat and Kathiawar, whose depredations necessitated expeditions from Bombay, were described as Coolies at the time, but should now be called by their

proper name. It is similarly incorrect to describe as "Malwans", the equally piratical Marathas of the coast area round Malwan. The district in which the Bombay troops had much fighting, known at the time and here printed as Cotiote, should be more correctly called by its proper name of Kottayam. But these are trifling defects in a carefully edited record, the illustrations and maps of which are pleasingly produced.

PATRICK CADELL.

THE AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE ACCORDING TO ABHINAVAGUPTA. By RANIERO GNOLI. Serie Orientale Roma XI. pp. xxxiii + 124. Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. Roma, 1956.

This work is based on a critical text with translation into English of an extract from Abhinavagupta's commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata, where the laconic sūtra following N.S. VI, 33, on the factors producing Rasa, gives Abhinavagupta a peg on which to hang both refutation of his predecessors and exposition of his own views. With the addition of Introduction and elaborate footnotes this becomes in effect a study of what is a treatise in itself and the key to Abhinavagupta's æsthetic philosophy; though opinions may differ as to whether it is "the most important text in the whole of Indian æsthetic thought". Is not the position rather that Sanskrit literary criticism has now advanced beyond the study of poetic language to analysis of the psychological process of its appreciation, especially in the form of drama? For perhaps it is not sufficiently stressed that Abhinavagupta's focus of interest, like that of his text, lies essentially in the enjoyment of drama, though carrying implications for the reading of poetry. It is the experience of a member of the audience as a whole in the enjoyment of the poetic spectacle that he describes in a torrent of ecstatic synonyms for the pleasure of æsthetic appreciation *camatkāranirveśarasanāvāda*, etc., p. 17 text.

Sgr. Gnoli grapples boldly with the task of converting scholastic Sanskrit into readable English and applies to his interpretation a profound knowledge of Abhinavagupta's writings and philosophical background. Technical terms (except "Rasa" itself) are given English equivalents which serve on the whole as well as any such convention can, though sometimes there is an unlucky choice, e.g. "evidence" for *sphuṭatva* in the sense of clarity or sharpness of impression. Indecision between "hasa" and "hasas" as a plural form in English tends perhaps to slur over the essential severalty of the nine "hasas", the key to the whole Sanskrit theory of drama. In the less technical passages it is not always easy to relate the Englishing to the Sanskrit text (e.g. verse passages on page 14); and a curious interloper is the actor "playing the roll of the deer" at the beginning of the Śakuntalā

apparently in explanation of the word *trāsaka*, which must surely mean the threatening gesture with the bow. Was there any "deer" on the stage at all? (p. 67) The parenthetical treatment of Ānandavardhana's "*Dhvanyāloka*" with Abhinavagupta's commentary in extracts scattered through numerous footnotes is a somewhat awkward feature of the monograph, but adds materially to its value as an aid to the study of this critic.

The great achievement is that this treatise has been made accessible not only to the Sanskritist, but to the Western critic who can face the struggle with technical terms to get at something of its meaning. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's definition of poetry (which Abhinavagupta rejects), his own analysis of the seven factors in disturbance of æsthetic enjoyment, his views on the relation of æsthetical and mystical experience, and the two brief appendices on the nature of drama are typical of what these Sanskrit critics have to contribute in this branch of philosophy.

WALTER GURNER.

ĀNANDAVARDHANA'S *DHVANYĀLOKA* OR THEORY OF SUGGESTION IN POETRY. Td. into English with Notes by Dr. K. KRISHNAMOORTHY, M.A., B.T., Ph.D. With Foreword by Dr. K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, M.A., D.Litt. Poona Oriental Series 92. pp. xxii + 184. Oriental Book Agency, Poona.

This is the first complete translation into English of the work which revolutionized Sanskrit literary criticism in the ninth century A.D. by superimposing on the older critical categories the principle that Suggestion, in association with the expression of Sentiment, is the essential value of poetry. Notwithstanding its superficial affinity with modern trends of criticism, the theory has hitherto been accessible to the West only through Jacobi's translation into German (*ZDMG.*, 1902/3), works in English on Sanskrit æsthetics by Indian scholars, and brief mention in the standard histories of Sanskrit literature, the latest, for instance, being in Professor Renou's *Histoire de la Langue Sanskrite* (Paris, 1956, pp. 187-190). The publication of the whole work in English is therefore of some significance; and the translator has achieved a large measure of success in a very difficult task. Painstaking and accurate as his rendering is, however, it is likely that for this very reason it will serve rather as an aid to the Sanskritist grappling with the original work than as a medium for comprehension by Western critics of Ānandavardhana's ideas. Even Jacobi's masterly translation into a language fertile in criticism has opened no door for the influence of this school of thought on Western æsthetics in the last fifty years, and it is too much to hope that the necessarily involved and technical diction of this new version can do much to bridge the gap. Though he may equal them in critical insight Ānandavardhana can never in

fact become another Aristotle or Longinus in English dress. From the technical point of view it is perhaps surprising that Dr. Krishnamoorthy rejects so confidently the prevailing view that the two strata, of *Kārikā* in verse, and prose commentary are by an earlier and later writer (on iii, 19, for instance, the latter gives two quite alternative meanings for the word "*Vṛtti*" commented on). And when the *Nirnaya Sagar* Press text has been so generally quoted hitherto, it is disconcerting to come across passages differing widely from it, often by omission or addition of a line or so, without indication of the reading adopted; even though the notes are deliberately kept to a minimum. It would be a service to comparative criticism if Dr. Krishnamoorthy could work up into a further commentary on the "*Dhvani*" theory his numerous articles in Indian journals listed in an Appendix.

WALTER GURNER.

HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. III, 1815-1830. Compiled by Colonel R. H. PHILLMORE, C.I.E., D.S.O. 11½ in. by 8 in. pp. 534 + xxii. Printed Survey of India Office. Rs. 20 or £1 11s.

This volume covers a period of great importance in its development. The destruction of the Pindaris and the termination of the Maratha wars enabled the Survey operations to be extended over the Deccan, Central India, and Rajputana. The repulse of the invaders from Nepal allowed of the survey of the sub-Himalayan tracts, and a similar repulse of Burmese and other invaders made work possible in Arakan, Assam, and Tenasserim. The consequent establishment of peace over practically the whole of the sub-continent allowed the work of survey to be pursued with little except climatic interference, and, above all, the "inestimable boon" of the Trigonometrical Survey became available. The age was also one of great names among the heads of the Survey, particularly Colin Mackenzie, who worked for thirty-eight years without respite, and of William Lambton, who laboured till his death when close on seventy. The greatest of all, George Everest, began his survey career in this period, though his greatest achievement was still to come. Nor should the work of the assistants, who surveyed in conditions conducive to a high rate of mortality, and often on very inadequate allowances, be forgotten.

The volume has been compiled by the former Surveyor-General, Colonel Phillmore, with his usual care and accuracy and the maps and illustrations are excellently reproduced.

The only cause for anxiety is the slow progress of the History. This volume was to be published in 1953; it is dated 1954, and it does not seem to have been circulated till 1955. It is of such importance that

the remaining volumes should be compiled and edited by Colonel Phillmore, that it may be hoped that no delay will occur in their publication.

PATRICK CADELL.

GESCHICHTE DER INDISCHEN PHILOSOPHIE, I. ERICH FRAUWALLNER.

Band, Oct. pp. xlix + 495. Verlag Otto Müller, Salzburg. Einführung von Prof. Dr. Leo Gabriel.

This first instalment of a history of Indian Philosophy promises treatment of the older and later systems and, in addition, a survey of a third period of eclecticism when Indian and Western thought have interlocked. This first volume deals with the Vedic period (because of limited space, and more so because of the author's own evaluation, very much abbreviated), with the epics, with Buddhism and Jainism, and with the early systems of Sāṅkhya and Yoga.

As the author says, his general method is not to indulge in polemics against former Western historians of Indian philosophy, and this welcome attitude is observed in the text and its annotations. Another of his methods, as stated in the Preface, is to describe Indian philosophy soberly and impartially without controversial analogies to apparently similar thought in the West. This second aim is more difficult to achieve for a Western scholar deeply imbued with the religious and scientific traditions of Europe, so that apart from occasional doubtful analogies India's main achievements are, probably subconsciously, judged sometimes by the standards of Western values. The grand, the characteristically Indian, concept of *Brahman*, the Absolute, the "It" beyond all personal manifestations, India's "Supra-Theism", is thus effaced. Theistic (Śivaitic) later Northern Vedānta is appraised as of at least equal value with the earlier supratheistic Vedānta—a new evaluation not all will accept. Its early notions of science earn the Vaiśeṣika system prominence because of its nearness to European ideals.

The axiom of unbroken continuity of Indian thought, so strictly upheld by Indian thinkers, is here devalued. The author is inclined to dwell on accidental occurrences of history as decisive. It is doubtful whether like him one can separate the Vedānta of the Upaniṣads from their inspired commentaries like that of Śaṅkara, though, it is true, many centuries lie between the Upaniṣads and the systematic schools of the Vedānta. In India continuity of thought, by virtue of oral and also through later written tradition, is never interrupted, especially in the field of her main and most cherished conceptions.

Dr. Frauwallner gives a detailed exposition of the different periods of Hindu thought and thus sometimes over-emphasizes differences instead of seeing the unity in diversity. This is a drawback to some, but it

also has its advantages. For instance, one has to be grateful for his discriminating examination of the pre-classical Sāṅkhya of the Epics as against the later classical Sāṅkhya. In several passages the author refers to the fire- and water-theories. However, these have to be subsumed under the general theory of the transformation of Matter, which underlies all these specific speculations on the elements.

Dr. Frauwallner claims that most of the variant theories of Buddhist thought can be traced back to the changing tenets provided by the Lord Buddha himself, a standpoint from which a stimulating controversy may result.

Interesting, too, is the emphasis laid on the so-called accumulation theory, which holds that in the course of emanation each following evolute contains the special characteristics of all the preceding as well as its own specific quality. This may develop a new appreciation of the Jaina dogma of the gradually increasing sense-organs in plant, animal, and man.

The future volumes of Dr. Frauwallner's work should further illuminate certain controversial features of Indian philosophy.

BETTY HEIMANN.

THE REHLA OF IBN BATTŪTA. Tr. by MAHDI HUSAIN. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. cxxii. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 6 in. pp. lxxvii + 300. Plates 8, maps 8, illustrations 9. Baroda, 1953. Price Rs. 37.

Dr. Mahdi Husain is the recognized authority on fourteenth-century Indian and his erudite volume on *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq* (1938) is well known to students of medieval India. We are now heavily indebted to him for the first unabridged English translation of Ibn Battūta's travels in India, the Maldive Islands, and Ceylon. Its value is enhanced by a scholarly introduction, and his knowledge of Islamic customs and institutions is evident from careful footnotes and appendices. Students with no knowledge of Arabic have hitherto had to rely on Samuel Lee's imperfect English translation and Professor H. A. R. Gibb's excellent abridged version, in the Broadway Travellers Series. The French translation of Defrémery and Sanguinetti and Hans von Mīk's German translation, *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Battūta durch Indien und China* are detailed studies of great importance. But Dr. Husain's knowledge of Indian Islam and Indian topography has enabled him to correct the errors of his predecessors.

Together with Zīā-ud-din Baranī's *Ta'rikh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, his *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, and the *Futūh-us-Salātīn* of Isāmi, Ibn Battūta's *Rehla* is one of the principal sources for the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Ibn Battūta's observations throw much light on the administrative system of the Delhi sultans, the part played by the executive in the

administration of justice, and the importance of the army in medieval India. For social conditions, the position of women, the prevalence of pardah, the Hindu custom of sati, marriage ceremonies, temporary marriages and easy divorce of which Ibn Battūta with his fondness for women readily availed himself, the *Rehla* is invaluable. It is obvious that Dr. Husain is a devout Muslim and his opinions are naturally often coloured by his religious views. He is, however, too favourable to Muhammad bin Tughluq when he refers to him as a benevolent despot. Ibn Battūta's account of that emperor cannot be disregarded because he came into the closest contact with him. Yet one must remember that, like Barani, Ibn Battūta was a member of the ulema and not favourably inclined to any ruler who attempted to increase the secular power at the expense of that orthodox body.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

STORIA DELLE LETTERATURE ANTICHE DELL' INDIA. By V. PISANI.
pp. 283. Nuova accademia editrice. Milan, 1955.

One of a series planned to provide short histories of all the principal literatures of the world, this small book has a vast scope : Brahminical, Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu works in Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit from the earliest to medieval times ; and it includes even brief summaries of the literature of the modern Indian languages and a few references to modern works in Sanskrit. The main arrangement is purely chronological, by periods : Vedic, proto-classical (from Mauryas to Guptas), classical, post-classical, and finally decline and renaissance ; and each chapter starts with a summary of the political, social, and cultural history of the period, which the literature is supposed to reflect. A notable feature is Professor Pisani's eloquent reaffirmation of his belief that not only the *Bhagavadgītā* but the whole *Mahābhārata* (excluding the *Harivaṃśa*) is the work of one man. On some other controversial points his conclusions, e.g. that (p. 90) "the *kāvya* style first flourished in Prakrit (not in Sanskrit)" and that "*Aśvaghoṣa* may have created the Sanskrit drama" (p. 108), seem unwarranted. Regarding the relative prominence given to the various branches of literature, one is glad to see that Pali and Prakrit works receive their due, but the *Upaniṣads* seem rather poorly represented, perhaps because they have been overworked by many scholars ; and if eight pages could be given to *Hāla*, surely more space could have been spared for *Bāṇa* and *Bhavabhūti*. I should add that about a sixth part of the book consists of translated specimens from nearly thirty different works, and that it contains a map of the sub-continent showing the areas over which the modern languages are spoken, a short bibliography, and an index of about 1,000 authors and titles. Parallels with European

literature are often suggested, and skill is shown in making a connected and interesting story out of too unwieldy and heterogeneous material.

C. A. RYLANDS.

ROTEIRO DOS ARQUIVOS DA ÍNDIA PORTUGUESA. By PANDURONGA S. S. PISSURLENCAR. pp. xxi + 263. Tipografia Rangel, Bastorá (Goa), 1955.

This most welcome guide to the archives of Portuguese India at last enables the student to know the scope, range, and nature of the documentation available there. The richest and most interesting collection is undoubtedly that of the Arquivo Histórico at Goa, which Panduronga Pissurlencar, the director, has turned into a model institution of its kind. This catalogue also lists in summary form the contents of the other archival collections at Goa, hitherto little used, including those of the Patriarchal Palace and the Municipal Council. There is a brief summary (p. 247) of the contents of the Municipal Council's archive at Damão, but unfortunately no mention of any records at Diu. Very few original documents seem to have survived from the sixteenth century, and it is with the seventeenth century that the importance of the Arquivo Histórico really begins. Particular attention may be drawn to the collection of "laws in favour of Christianity" promulgated in 1562-1843; they are catalogued on pp. 62-95 in greater detail than the other series. It may be added that a great part of these documents are available on microfilm in the Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa at Lisbon.

C. R. BOXER.

INSTRUMENT AND PURPOSE: STUDIES ON RITES AND RITUALS IN SOUTH INDIA. By CARL GUSTAV DIEHL. pp. 394. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1956.

The value of this book lies firstly in a rich and full description of the rites of the Tamil-speaking people of South India, and secondly in an elegant demonstration of the use of evidence in evaluating a particular classification of ritual data.

The author draws upon many years of experience as a missionary in South India, upon a knowledge of the Tamil language, and upon contacts with Tamilian ritual experts. He divides the rites into those of the Temple, the home, and what might be called the "consulting room"—the orbit of astrologers, healers, and so forth. All three sections bear the hallmark of scholarship and thoroughness, but the last is particularly valuable in that it fixes for us information gleaned from advertisements, conversations, and vernacular ritual handbooks, which otherwise would be ephemeral. The book provides a corpus—unique in English, at least—of the "bazaar" aspect of ritual.

This material is used in a cogent final chapter to show that the distinction of magic and religion cannot be easily maintained, and that virtually all rites are "instruments" to achieve a particular end.

One cannot quarrel with the correctness of the author's conclusion. But one can complain that it lacks audacity, and argue that the author has not demonstrated the heuristic value of the word "instrument". He has cleared away the rubble, but abandoned the site without, I think, laying even the foundation of a new building. A rite is not understood by identifying it as an "instrument". One hopes that the author will make use of his material in a second book, and attempt a sociological interpretation, towards which, in spite of the disclaimer on page 335, he seems to be drawn.

F. G. BAILEY.

THE MILITARY SYSTEM IN ANCIENT INDIA. By BIMAL KANTI MAJUMDAR. pp. viii + 207. Calcutta : World Press, Ltd., 1955. Rs. 10.

This little book examines, period by period, the major sources on the military organization and activities of the kingdoms of Hindu India before the coming of the Muslims, beginning with the prehistoric Harappa culture. The author adds little to our knowledge of the subject, but he makes interesting comparisons of the warfare and military techniques of India with those of other parts of the ancient world, and he is not swayed by the adventurous and fanciful theories of such students of the subject as the late Professor V. R. R. Dikshitar, who sincerely believed that ancient Indian armies were equipped with aeroplanes, bombs, and firearms. The work is useful as a summary of our present knowledge of a topic needing much further research.

Perhaps the most interesting and original portion of the book is the final chapter entitled "Breakdown of Hindu Military System" (*sic*). Here Professor Majumdar gives a balanced review of the various theories put forward by modern historians to account for the failure of the Hindu armies in their resistance to the numerically much smaller forces of the Turks. He judiciously concludes that the weakness of Hindu India was due to the combination of many factors, chief of which were "internal weakness and possession of a higher technique of warfare by her enemies".

A. L. BASHAM.

THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE. THE CLASSICAL AGE. Edited by R. C. MAJUMDAR and A. D. PUSALKER, with foreword by K. M. MUNSHI. pp. lx, 745, 4 maps, 43 plates, and a frontispiece. Bombay : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1954.

The first and second volumes of this series (*The Vedic Age*, London, 1951, and *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1951), were not reviewed

in this journal. This, therefore, is rather a survey of the project of which this, the third volume, forms a part than a detailed examination of the volume itself.

Some time before the second World War the much respected nationalist politician Dr. Rajendra Prasad, now President of India, launched a scheme for a detailed history of India in twenty volumes. This foundered on the rocks of war, rioting, and partition, and only two volumes appeared. A similar scheme, however, was inaugurated by another well-known nationalist politician, the Hon. K. M. Munshi, the founder and president of the well-known Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay, which has done much to further the cause of Indological research. This second scheme shows real promise of fulfilment.

Professor R. C. Majumdar, one of the ablest and most catholic in outlook of the older generation of Indian historians, has undertaken a tremendous task in planning these ten large volumes, and himself writing many of their most important chapters. The first volume of the series exhibits unresolved differences between Professor Majumdar and the assistant editor, Dr. Pusalker; for clearly the former places far less reliance on Purāṇic tradition than the latter. But the subsequent volumes are well edited, and there are no outstanding differences of approach in the varied chapters from the hands of many contributors.

The work is written entirely by Indian historians, and though the editors have generally excluded the more fantastic theories of some lesser authorities, yet the series, the most comprehensive work of Indian history to be produced since independence, is evidently nationalist in inspiration and purpose. This is made quite clear in the contributions of Dr. Munshi, who has written a longish introduction to each volume. He is proud of his country, "which . . . stands to-day three hundred and fifty million strong, with a new apparatus of state, determined not to be untrue to its ancient self, and yet to be equal to the highest demands of modern life" (*The Vedic Age*, p. 12), and he believes that the study of Indian history is of value, not only in stimulating the patriotism of his people, but in helping the rulers of India to assess the course of events. He has a distinctive philosophy of history, and in each of his introductory chapters writes of India as a corporate entity with a common will. Professor Majumdar, who contributes introductory chapters to each volume, also shows the influence of pride in his country's independence, but his attitude is usually impartial, and his general introduction to the series is particularly commendable at a time when patriotism may easily lead the historian to draw a false or exaggerated picture of his country's past.

The editors divide India's past into three periods—the ancient, to A.D. 1000, the medieval, from 1000 to 1818, and the modern, from 1818 onwards—no less than four volumes, or nearly half the whole

series, being devoted to the ancient period. This emphasis on ancient India is vigorously, and perhaps rightly, defended by Professor Majumdar :

"The contribution of different ages to the evolution of national history and culture should be the main criterion of their relative importance, though the space devoted to each should also be largely determined by the amount of historical material available. There is, no doubt, a dearth of material for the political history of ancient India, but this is to a large extent made up for by the corresponding abundance on the cultural side" (*The Vedic Age*, p. 23).

Clearly the emphasis of the whole series will be on the history of the Hindus. This is perhaps justified, for the inhabitants of India are now as always predominantly Hindu, and a similar series of histories, written from the Muslim angle, will no doubt sooner or later appear in Pakistan.

Unlike the *Cambridge History of India* (the only other continuous large-scale history of India still of value as a work of scholarship), the *History and Culture of the Indian People* covers all aspects of India's past. This century has seen a shift in the interest of historians away from the drums and trumpets of most of their predecessors towards social and economic studies. The *Cambridge History* has been criticized because, except for the first volume, it virtually ignores these topics. The new Indian project treats not only of political and administrative history, but of literature, law, religion, and philosophy, art, social conditions, education, and economic life. It therefore gives a more complete picture of India's past than the *Cambridge History* or any other general history of India.

Though fault may be found with several passages in the first volume, which here and there is prone to undue credulity towards sources and imposes contemporary categories of thought upon the remote past, the authors, once they have "got into their stride", write with scholarly caution, and their contributions are sound surveys of existing knowledge. The eighteen joint authors of the third volume include some of the greatest historians and Indologists of India, who have worked together to produce a detailed survey of the period from the rise of the Gupta Empire (A.D. 320) to the death of Yaśovarman of Kanauj (c. 740). This was the apogee of India's indigenous civilization, the age of Kālidāsa and the Ajanta murals, when India vied with T'ang China in her urbane culture. The authors have done credit to their theme. Though there may be many points on which individual authorities will disagree with them, their picture of India in the Gupta Age is clear, reasonable, and as accurate as the inadequate sources can make it.

The volumes are well printed, and show no signs of the inadequate proof-reading and indexing which are annoying features of many

English books produced in India.* Some of the plates, however, are a trifle blurred, and for works of such importance, which will be constantly referred to for many years to come, the bindings are rather weak and shoddy. Each volume contains valuable and lengthy bibliographies.

The English reader may find the portrait of the sponsor of the scheme, which occurs as the frontispiece of every volume, a trifle embarrassing. Dr. Munshi has performed a great service in making the production of this series possible. But in a great work of collective scholarship of this kind it would perhaps have been more appropriate if he had followed the example of Sir Christopher Wren, and allowed the edifice which he had planned to serve as his memorial.

India must no longer be looked on as a very old country, but as a very young one. This, her first attempt at collective historical writing on a large scale, speaks well for the future of her scholarship. We congratulate the many contributors to the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, and trust that the forthcoming volumes of the series will be as valuable as this, which treats of the most splendid period of India's past.

A. L. BASHAM.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT INDIA. By BIMALA CHURN LAW, with a preface by Professor LOUIS RENOU. pp. 354, 3 maps. Paris: Société Asiatique, n.d. (Calcutta printed).

In this work Dr. Law attempts to meet a long-felt need by collecting the geographical material from his numerous earlier works, collating it with that of other authorities, and publishing it in a convenient form. The volume contains a lengthy introduction in which Dr. Law treats of the sources and the geography of India as known to ancient writers. This includes sections on mountains, caves, rivers, and lakes referred to in early sources, and discusses the sixteen great *janapadas* of the Buddhist scriptures. The introduction concludes with a lengthy and useful bibliography, listing not only monographs and works of reference, but important papers in learned periodicals.

The main part of the volume is divided into five sections, roughly agreeing with the traditional divisions of Purāṇic geography—Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western and Central India. Dr. Law's divisions do not wholly correspond with those of ancient days, however, since most of the old Madhyadeśa is included in his section on Northern India. Within each section articles of varying length are arranged in alphabetical order. It would have facilitated reference if the whole text had been arranged alphabetically, without regard to regional divisions.

Though this is certainly the most comprehensive list of ancient

Indian place names with identifications hitherto published, it has several defects. Often Dr. Law fails to give the locations of the places mentioned. For example under *Trisrotā* we are merely told that "the *Kālikā Purāṇa* . . . mentions this river, which fulfils the desire of one who bathes in it" (p. 264). From such information the student cannot identify this name with that of the modern Tista, a small tributary of the Brahmaputra. Yet Dr. Law wastes a line in telling his readers that Kāśī or Vārāṇasī is "situated 80 miles below Allahabad on the north bank of the Ganges" (p. 94)—a fact which even the rawest beginner in Indology knows.

This volume certainly does not wholly fulfil the need of the Indologist for a comprehensive dictionary of ancient Indian place-names, but it is a very useful work of reference. For a work of this kind the maps are small and badly drawn.

A. L. BASHAM.

Ceylon

SIGIRI GRAFFITI, BEING SINHALESE VERSES OF THE EIGHTH, NINTH, AND TENTH CENTURIES (ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CEYLON). By S. PARANAVITANA. Vol. I, Introduction and plates. pp. ccxxi + 55 plates. Vol. II, Texts and Translation with notes and glossary, 472 pages. £10 10s.

The graffiti on the gallery wall of Sigiriya, most of them written in the Sinhalese blank verse called *Gī*, are a glorious monument to Sinhalese culture, and the publication of a large number of them is welcome not only to those interested in this particular civilization, but to all students of Indo-European languages, as well as to the non-specialist. This work has been long awaited since Dr. Paranavitana's paper on the subject (*Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1939, vol. xxxiv, No. 92, pp. 309 ff.). Six hundred and eighty-five graffiti have now been transcribed and translated, with explanatory and linguistic notes. The volumes also contain an introduction (221 pages) dealing with the history of Sigiriya, the story of the graffiti, their orthography, palæography, grammar and prosody, subjects which evidently the author considered useful for the understanding of the graffiti. But there are reproductions of the rubbings of 342 only, just less than half the total.

However, Dr. Paranavitana claims to have furnished all the aids necessary for the student to verify for himself the accuracy of his readings (p. iii). This aid is the indication of the position of the graffiti on the gallery wall measured from a fixed datum. The author is not sure whether the measurements will remain the same when they are measured a second time. How many students can have time and means to go to the gallery wall at Sigiriya to examine the graffiti? One must

regret, therefore, that a publication over which the author has taken such pains, has been left incomplete. The rubbings of the graffiti being the primary source of the subject are the chief raw material for the research worker, and the failure to reproduce most of them has diminished the value of this important work. As irreparable loss might occur to the writings if the gallery wall were to collapse, as parts of it have already done, it was much to be desired that all the graffiti should have been reproduced. Further, are there no partly read or fragmentary graffiti? These also should have been included among the plates. (Note, for example, No. 562.)

Dr. Paranavitana had to consider the financial implications when he decided to omit the reproduction of more than half the graffiti. Would not the Government of Ceylon have provided for all the required plates if their importance had been brought to its notice? It has taken only fifty-five plates to reproduce 342 graffiti. Even if extra funds were not forthcoming, could not a shorter introduction have provided for another fifty-five to sixty plates to reproduce the 343 remaining graffiti, and for a few more plates for the unread or fragmentary ones? One hundred and forty pages have been devoted to the discussion of Sinhalese grammar which might have been adequately handled under "general observations on the language of the graffiti". Space could also have been saved from the sections on palæography and prosody. In palæography a few photographic reproductions of different types of akṣaras would have given more reliable information than a large number of drawings of very similar characters, and the references to *Elusandūs-lakuna* would have sufficed in the case of metre.

The second volume could have been made much thinner by cutting short the introduction to each graffiti and reducing the notes on words. The indication of the positions in the reproductions would have done away with the need for much verbal description. Most of the notes on the words are not essential in view of the Glossary and Appendices. Even the Sinhalese transcription of the texts might have been sacrificed to save space for the reproductions. The Roman transliteration, accompanied by the rubbings of all the texts, would have made the publication more scientific. A popular edition with a transcription in Sinhalese character, and a modern Sinhalese translation would have brought the graffiti within the reach of the Sinhalese-speaking reader, and better satisfied nationalist sentiment.

Dr. Paranavitana has taken a great deal of trouble, and no doubt spent much energy in trying to make these volumes as learned as possible, even by entering into philosophical discussions in which a good number of Sanskrit writers and some European authorities have been cited. It is only to be expected when diversions into other fields of knowledge are made in an epigraphical work, that some errors of judgment should be committed and there are new misconceptions in the

epigraphist's philosophical speculations. The critical reader may perhaps point out that there is some confusion with regard to the meanings of "contrary" and "contradictory" in Dr. Paranavitana's discussion on phonology (pp. xvii ff.).

Dr. Paranavitana again says (Introduction, pp. c ff.) that the five-fold classification of nouns into *dā*, *dāv*, *guṇa*, *kiriya*, and *san* in Sinhalese grammar is identical with the five-fold classification found in the writings of the Buddhist logicians. This attempt at analogy is rather superficial and attended with the danger of inexactitude. What has led Dr. Paranavitana to quote the Buddhist logicians is apparently the similarity of verbal form. The reference is clearly to the five-fold construction of Reality of Dinnāga (*Pramāṇasamuccaya*, i, 2 ff.). This is really a classification of names based on the highly idealistic philosophy of the Yōgācāra School of Buddhism. Its purpose is not to analyse nouns, but to consider the nature of categories from a philosophic and logical standpoint. Moreover (as Dr. Paranavitana has had to admit), *san* of the Sinhalese classification is absent from the logician's list. *Nāma* in this latter list refers not only to names of individuals or places as in grammar, but to general names as well. Every individual is a continuous stream of "becoming", even though his name is a proper noun so far as grammar is concerned, yet from the point of view of this philosophical consideration, even proper names are general common names. Moreover, the list of the logician is rather a matter of epistemology than one of grammar. In other words, it is a division of cognition into synthetic and non-synthetic principles of knowledge. *Nāma-kalpanā*, or the category of names, therefore, includes all other categories as well. This is something unknown to the science of grammar, whether of Sinhalese or of any other language. The category apparently taken to be identical with common nouns by Dr. Paranavitana is in the thought of the logicians identical with the category of universals, which is altogether different from the category of that name in grammar. Although, therefore, the Yōgācāra list may appear to conform to that of the Indian grammarians, the essential difference between the two concepts should have been pointed out.

Dr. Paranavitana has not only read and translated the graffiti, but he has also assessed their literary quality, referring to authorities both ancient and modern. Even the cleverest writer can sometimes be caught unaware when he attempts to force modern meanings upon old terminology. Dr. Paranavitana, in discussing the four classes of poets (pp. cxiii ff. = sections 630-4 of the Introduction) takes *cinta-kavi*, *suta-kavi*, *attha-kavi*, and *paṭibhāṇa-kavi* to mean respectively imaginative poet, classicist poet, objective poet, and subjective poet. This interpretation is, however, unknown to the *Anguttaranikāya* from which the list is taken. Rhys Davids and Stede, agreeing with the scholiast (Buddhaghosa in *Manorathapūraṇī*, P.T.S. ed., vol. iii, p. 311) have

rightly rendered these four terms as follows: cinta-kavi = original poet; suta-kavi = one who puts into verse what one has heard; attha-kavi = didactic poet; paṭibhāṇa-kavi = an improviser. (See P.T.S., *Pali-English Dictionary*, s.v. kavi.)

Dr. Paranavitana, who is determined to identify the *Anguttara* list with a modern classification of poets, says that "paṭibhāṇa" is intuition. The *Anguttara* does not itself here explain what "paṭibhāṇa" means (P.T.S., ed. vol. ii, p. 230). But our author says, "a paṭibhāṇa-kavi is a poet whose imagination is controlled by his intuition." Neither the use of the word in literature nor its etymology admit of this meaning, unless it is the result of imagination. "Paṭibhāṇa" admits of two etymological explanations: (1) "paṭi + bhaṇati", to reply, to speak in reply, etc.; (2) "paṭi + bhāti", to appear, to arise. In this context "paṭibhāṇa" has the first of these meanings. Apparently Dr. Paranavitana has noted only one etymology (in this case the wrong one) of the word. He says, "paṭibhāṇa" literally means "flashing towards". This evidently is a mistake. The first meaning of "paṭibhāṇa" is well attested in the Nikāyas. At *Majjhima*, i, 258, for instance, we have the following: tuṇhībhūto mankubhūto pattakkhandho adhomukho pajjhāyanto appaṭibhāṇo. One may consult P.T.S., *Pali-English Dictionary*, s.v. appaṭibhāṇa, "not speaking," "being reticent," and *Critical Pali Dictionary*, "who has lost his presence of mind," "bewildered," "at a loss for an answer."

Dr. Paranavitana says that "attha" in Pali means "external object", and thus tries to justify his translation of "atthakavi" as "a poet whose ideas and imagery are derived from nature". "Attha" has many meanings in Pali usage, but the meaning given to it by Dr. Paranavitana certainly is not one of them. Even the compilers of the *Critical Pali Dictionary* who have analysed and examined the meaning of "attha" and its compounds, have not been able to discover this meaning anywhere in Pali records (see op. cit., pp. 102-111). Dr. Paranavitana goes on to say in a footnote (p. cxci, n. 5) that the term "arthakavi" occurs in Rājasekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsa*, but even in that text the term is not explained in the sense in which it has been taken by him. He then adds that even though the term is not explained there in that sense, yet it can be construed to mean the sense which he has in his mind. This certainly is not indicative of a serious desire to get at the true meaning of a doubtful word.

In this state-sponsored publication Dr. Paranavitana in his criticism and acknowledgments should have refrained from statements which might be construed on the one hand as uncalled for innuendoes and insinuations, and on the other hand as personal platitudes. Note, for example, his criticism of Geiger's Sinhalese Grammar, and his praise of a yet unpublished Sinhalese Dictionary (Preface, p. v). The present reviewer is grateful for the mention of his own name as having read

through the greater part of the grammatical section and made a number of useful suggestions, but Dr. Paranavitana will remember that he could not agree with an examination of the language which in many places followed neither the historical method of the Western scholar nor the descriptive method of the native grammarian.

The Glossary is a mine of information. The philologist may, however, question the validity of some of the etymologies given therein, but a few inaccuracies should not greatly minimize the use of the glossary. The lists of place-names, etc., in the appendices are extremely informative.

The renderings of the graffiti into English are very close to the original, and, as the author says, they do not aim at literary quality but attempt to give as exact a version as possible of the old Sinhalese (p. iv). Would it not then have been better to avoid all attempts at modernization, such as rendering old Sinhalese words by English terms with a different significance, sometimes conveying a meaning other than what is implied in the original? One may point out, for example, such renderings as "Lord" (Nos. 4, 52, 61, 81, 93, etc.), "Friar" (Nos. 7, 101, 120, etc.), "Northern Province" (Nos. 15, 276, 388, 585), "His Lordship" (No. 45), "Chief Administrator" (No. 49), "Private Secretary" (Nos. 119, 320), "His Majesty" (Nos. 153, 346), "Western Province" (No. 206), "Professor" (No. 231), "Lady" (No. 266), "Eastern Province" (No. 288), "Chief Secretary" (No. 621). Such renderings as "Northern Province", "Western Province", "Eastern Province" (with the capitals) convey quite a different meaning from that intended in the Sinhalese original. So do the other renderings cited above.

"Inconsistencies" (p. v) certainly are unavoidable, yet an authority should not be referred to by a name different from that by which he was generally known, and by which he has been introduced in the bibliography. A case in point is the name of Dharmārāma Sthavira, who is called Dhammārāma in the citations. Some of the abbreviations are not explained, for instance, *Sb* under the word "aga" in the Glossary. A few misprints are inevitable, but one might expect a corrigenda slip for the wrongly printed: mahada gaṇḍakīlī kara . . . (the opening lines of the *Sidatsaṅgarā*) occurring in Section 593 on p. clxxxiii.

We are thankful to the archaeologists and epigraphists of Ceylon for preserving and deciphering this collection of writing, unique in the world. It is hoped that what has not been published will also be brought out in some form or other for the benefit of the critical scholar, and that more readable editions will be forthcoming, to bring the whole range of the graffiti within access of a greater number of readers both in Ceylon and abroad. Finally, we must in concluding express our gratitude to those poets of yore, most of them unknown and unheard of, who wrote their songs, so carefully and in such fine letters, on the gallery

wall at Sīgiriya, to last there until the wall collapses, or even longer, if they are preserved in the libraries of the world in facsimile reproduction.

C. E. GODAKUMBURA.

Buddhism

BUDDHIST MEDITATION. By Dr. EDWARD CONZE. pp. 183. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. London, 1956. 12s. 6d. net.

Buddhist Meditation is No. 13 in the series "Ethical and Religious Classics of the East and West". The object of the Series is to place the chief ethical and religious masterpieces of the world "within easy reach of the intelligent reader who is not necessarily an expert". This volume consists of an Introduction (pp. 31) and Selections from Buddhist literature in Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan. Of the thirty-nine extracts given, as many as thirty-two are from the Pali, mainly from the Visuddhi-Magga. Almost all have been translated into European languages more than once and what we have here is regrouping of more or less old material under the four heads: "devotional exercises," "mindfulness," "trance," "wisdom." The Introduction deals summarily with the meaning and purpose of Buddhist meditation, its range and principal divisions, with the literary sources for the subject. It gives a brief resumé of the contents of the selections.

There is already a wide literature in modern languages on Buddhist meditation. It is doubtful if the present work justifies itself as adding anything to the popular but authentic literature available. Since most of the book consists of selections in translations, it was important, especially for the uninitiated reader, that the Introduction should be careful and precise, and there should have been an attempt to bring out the degree of relevance and applicability of Buddhist meditation to the needs of our time. Dr. Conze's Introduction fails in both these respects. This in great measure has been due to a lack of depth in its psychological analysis. So, his work compares unfavourably with the lucid and understanding exposition by Mme. Constance Launsbury in her book on the same subject.

The book offers nothing new and is certainly unedifying in its treatment. In a book for the layman we should have expected a uniform style, easy and non-technical. What we find is an indiscriminate use of both. The result is a piece of imperfect writing. Important key-words such as *jhāna* are used without any serious attempt being made to bring out their true import and meaning in the Buddha's teaching. The glossary of technical terms occurring at the end of the book is in most cases inadequate, inaccurate in others, and misleading in a few places: *jhāna*, *nikāya*, *karma*, Sarvāstivādins (pp. 180-3).

There is no index and the manner in which sources have been indicated at the end of the book is cumbersome and lacking in system. Far better and more convenient are the arrangement and plan followed in E. J. Thomas' *Early Buddhist Scriptures*, where the reference for each passage is given at the end of it accurately and systematically.

The book gives the impression of being hastily got up for the press and is hardly the kind of work that can be recommended to the "children of the light", whom the author has in mind.

C. E. GODAKUMBURA.

Art and Archaeology

NOUVELLES RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES À BEGRAM (ANCIENNE KĀPICI) (1939-1940). Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan. Tome XI. Par J. HACKIN, avec la collaboration de J.-R. HACKIN, J. CARL et P. HAMELIN. Études Comparatives par J. AUBOYER, V. ELISSÉEFF, O. KURZ, PH. STERN.

This is the definitive publication on the final phase of the excavation of the great hoard discovered at Begram. It deals with a group of splendid works of sumptuary art dating mainly from the first and second centuries A.D. The kernel of the collection is the several series of Indian carved ivory plaques, already widely famous for the sex-appeal of the ladies who decorate their surfaces. The collection remained immured in two small palace chambers from the third century until the French scholar, Hackin, opened the first chambers in 1937, so that it is valuable for dating the different groups of objects, from different parts of the world, of which it is composed. The present publication comprises Hackin's survey of the dig and catalogue of the objects, prefaces by Foucher, Grousset and Stern, a study of the Han Lacquers by V. Elisséeff, an analysis of the Mediterranean art found there by O. Kurz, of the Warburg Institute, an essay by J. Auboyer on life in Ancient India as illustrated in the ivories, and an essay by Ph. Stern on the dating of the ivories, which he uses as an occasion for a complete reappraisal of the pre-Gupta art of India. It is a superb volume of nearly 700 plates, illustrating the objects found at Begram, along with the necessary comparative material from China, Europe, and the Middle East.

Kurz' magisterial discussion of the classical plaster reliefs it is not possible to dispute. His work adds further details to the tally of confrontations possible between Gandhara and the Roman West. But perhaps the most important contribution in the book apart from the essential material supplied by Hackin himself, is that of Stern. This has been analysed at length by Douglas Barrett in *Oriental Art*, vol. i,

No. 4, 1955, p. 175 f., who disagrees with much that Stern has to say. The present reviewer is in substantial agreement with Barrett's criticisms and will not recapitulate them here.

This whole work should drop like a bombshell into the muddy pool of British Indian studies. Although sadly hampered by the death during the war of three of the original workers of the French Archaeological mission to Afghanistan—Hackin and his wife and Jean Carl—it is a monumental illustration of what such a study should be, a complete and thorough work of co-operative scholarship. French orientalism has long been producing finished work of the highest quality, especially in the sphere of art history, where the British scholar's ingrained refusal both to use his eyes and to take art seriously has vitiated the whole academic study of India. Indeed between 1926 and the war no substantial, serious, and original work on Indian art appeared in this country, whose citizens lived and worked in India in their thousands. But now, students of medieval Indian history will, I fear, have to learn the bitter lesson that their study has to a large extent reached an impasse from which only properly conducted art-history can rescue them. The publication under review is a most striking object lesson of the manner in which the old, familiar clichés of Indian history can, by a combination of strict archaeology and art-history, be brought to life in a manner both stimulating and progressive.

P. S. RAWSON.

Miscellaneous

A CATALOGUE OF THE ARAB-BYZANTINE AND POST-REFORM UMAIYAD COINS. By JOHN WALKER. pp. civ + 329. 31 plates. Catalogue of the Muḥammadan Coins in the British Museum, Vol. II. British Museum, London, 1956. £5 10s.

Lane-Poole's original catalogue of the British Museum Islamic coins, which appeared in ten volumes from 1875 to 1890, has long been out of print, while the National Collection has since that time acquired hundreds of new specimens in this range. The present Keeper of Coins and Medals, whose services to Oriental numismatics have lately been recognized by the award of the Royal Numismatic Society's Gold Medal, inaugurated the new series of Islamic coin catalogues sixteen years ago with his description of the Arab-Sasanian issues.

The first section of the present volume deals with Arab coins of Byzantine type issued by the Umayyads and their viceroys in the Near Eastern, North African, and Spanish provinces of the Caliphate. These present a curious hotch-potch of styles; the iconography is often discordant, as when mint-masters linked effigies of long dead Byzantine or even Roman rulers with mint-names inscribed in Cufic

characters. (The palæographical table on p. cii is useful for decyphering unpointed Cufic script, and will help the epigraphist as well as the collector.)

Dr. Walker makes some interesting comments on the designs portraying the sword-girt figure of the Caliph, issued before a more rigid interpretation of Islamic dogma banned such images as profane. This latter trend coincided with the reform of the coinage about A.D. 696-9, and the standardization of the dinar and dirhem in the pattern which was to persist for centuries to come. This post-reform coinage is treated in the second half of the descriptions, concluding with the overthrow of the Umayyads in A.D. 750.

Like the Arab-Sasanian series, the material here published by Dr. Walker shows how the Arab conquerors at first adapted and then superseded the coin styles of their new subjects. In this volume, meticulous accuracy is combined with mastery of the historical, geographical, and economic problems involved. Unhappy the perpetrators of "Himyarite monograms" and other such red-herrings and "absurd observations"! They are soon confuted by Dr. Walker's good-natured but firm ripostes. The Trustees of the British Museum have enabled relevant specimens from other collections to be reproduced in this catalogue for purposes of comparison, and this adds much to the book's value. The Oxford University Press has made a creditable job of the plates and of the text, with its many figures and facsimiles.

D. M. LANG.

OBITUARY

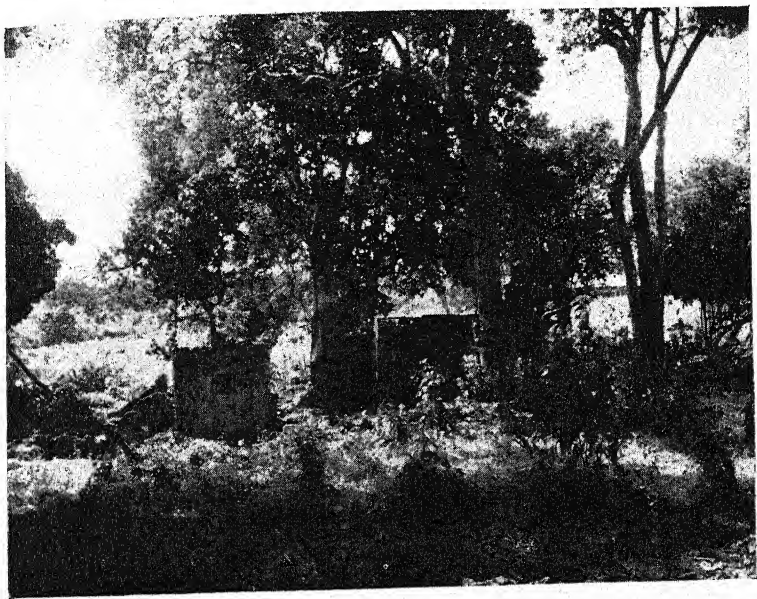
F. W. THOMAS, C.I.E., F.B.A., Ph.D., D.Lit., D.Litt.
(1867-1956)

A just appraisal will, I am confident, assign to Frederick William Thomas a place in the foremost rank of Indologists. He traversed several diverse fields of Oriental learning, and upon all of them he brought to bear an exact scholarship and a fine literary judgment, *μούσαις ἄμμιγα καὶ χάριων*. Following the wise Cambridge tradition, he entered Oriental studies through the gateway of the Classical School, and became a pupil of that much loved and honoured *kalyāṇa-mitra* Professor Cowell. Jointly with Cowell he published in 1897 a translation of Bāṇa's "Harṣa-carita", a narrative of the rise of the emperor Harṣa-varḍhana of Kanauj, composed in highly ornate Sanskrit style. The historical interest which this work aroused in Thomas continued to influence him in later years, bearing a manifold variety of valuable fruits, notably his work on the *Epigraphia Indica* (of which he was editor in Vols. xiii-xvi (1915-1922), jointly with Sten Konow in Vol. xiii, and with H. Kṛishṇa Śāstri in Vol. xvi), his "Science of Politics according to the School of Brīhaspati", in which he edited with a translation and introduction the Brīhaspati-sūtra (1921), his contribution to the Cambridge History of India, and his "India and its Expansion", which formed his Calcutta University Readership Lecture in 1942. The epoch-making discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan opened new and most welcome fields of historical and philological research, into which Thomas, who from the outset was closely connected with them as Librarian of the India Office, entered with keen zest. His studies of the documents of Khotan, written in an old Prakrit dialect of Northern India heavily charged with the local language, yielded important results, and still greater success attended his work on the native languages of Central Asia. He attained a high degree of mastery in classical Tibetan, and he discovered and described the hitherto lost "Nam" tongue, of which he published a grammar and texts in two volumes.

But his multifarious activities had other sides as well. His bibliographic skill was shown in his Appendix to Winternitz's Catalogue of South Indian MSS. in the Royal Asiatic Society (1902), the "Catalogue of Two Collections of Sanskrit Manuscripts preserved

in the India Office Library", in which he collaborated with C. H. Tawney (1903), and his Supplement on the Buddhist MSS. in the great Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in the India Office (1935). His interest in Buddhism was also evidenced earlier in the annotated edition of the Sarva-siddhānta-saṅgraha published by him jointly with L. de La Vallée Poussin (1902), and in "The Beginnings of Buddhist Art", translated by him and Miss L. Thomas from Foucher's fine work (1917). Besides his Buddhist studies, he took an interest in the sister-heresy Jainism, which resulted first in his work on Jagmandarlal Jaini's *Outlines of Jainism* (edited and enriched by him with useful notes, 1916), and later in his introduction to Kunda-kunda's Pravaçana-sāra with Amṛta-candra's commentary and Professor Faddegon's translation, which he likewise edited (1935). Moreover he completed in 1946 a translation of another standard work of Jain doctrine, Malli-ṣeṇa's Syād-vāda-mañjarī, a commentary on Hema-candra's Anya-yoga-vyavaccheda-dvātriṃśikā; the typescript of this awaits funds for its publication. Nor did Thomas neglect other sides of Indian thought, for he edited in 1917 Uṣ's work on the Vaiśeṣika as expounded in the Daśa-padārtha-śāstra. In addition to these major occupations he produced numerous scholarly articles in many learned journals. He was in truth πολυφραδὴς ἀνὴρ.

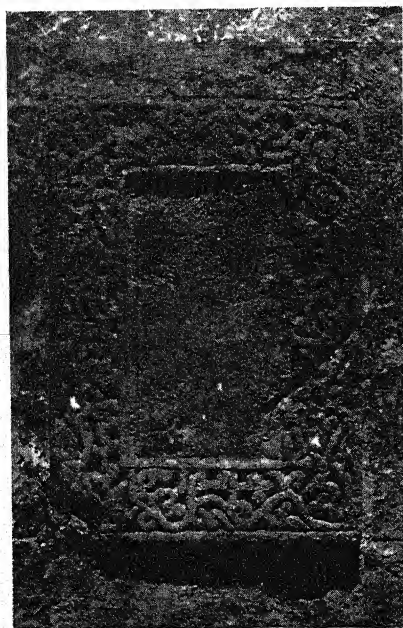
L. D. BARNETT.



A



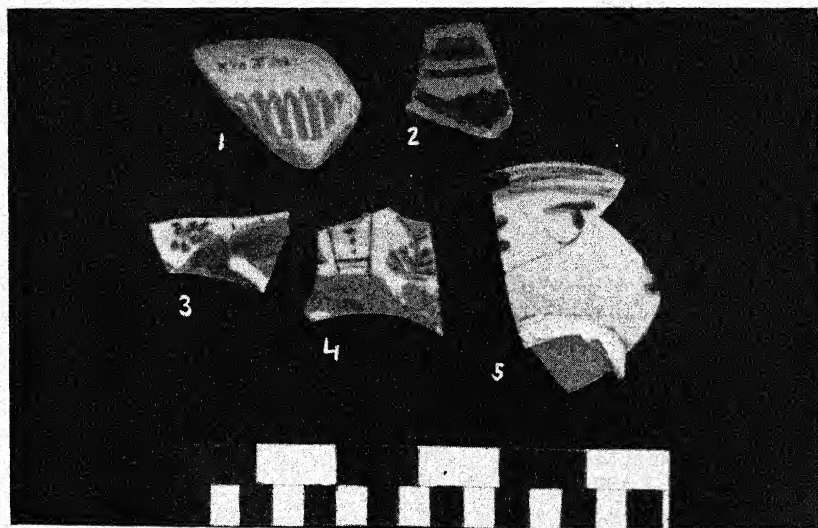
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A



B



C

KINUNI—AN ARAB MANOR ON THE COAST OF KENYA

By J. S. KIRKMAN

(PLATES III-IV)

ON THE COAST of East Africa there were, in addition to walled towns such as Gedi, Mombasa, Ungwana, etc., numerous small settlements consisting of one or two houses and a mosque, which corresponded to the villas of the late Roman Empire or the manors of contemporary Europe. One of the most interesting of these minor sites is at Kurwitu, between Takaungu and Kikambala, about twenty-five miles north of Mombasa (Fig. 1).

The ruins consist of a group of pillar tombs (Figs. 2, 3; Pl. III A) and a mosque, built on a sand strip on the north side of a small promontory known as Kinuni. There are no domestic buildings above the surface but porcelain, including a sherd of Chinese blue-and-white with a stamp of the Emperor Cheng Hua, and Islamic glazed ware have been found on the coral ridge above the tombs, where was presumably the site of the house. Behind are deep caves or grottoes, sunk in the coral, in which are freshwater springs, probably the water supply of the inhabitants. These grottoes are still visited by Swahili, who have erected two shrines of sticks with scraps of red cloth attached (Pl. III B). Here they make supplications, generally in case of sickness, leaving a stick to remind the deity of their petition. In one of the grottoes there are many broken water jars. Most of these I believe to be comparatively modern, but some sherds embedded in the lime may be as old as the settlement. It is possible that in the nineteenth century the caves were used for hiding slaves awaiting shipment. Similar grottoes exist between Gedi and Watamu and at Mvuleni near Mkokotoni in Zanzibar. The latter site is a close parallel, as cave and spring have been enclosed in the boundary wall of a large house, possibly of the Portuguese period.

Of the standing monuments, four tombs have survived in such a condition that their architectural features can be described (Pl. III A). The oldest of these (Tomb B) has the stump of an octagonal pillar rising from a flat-topped façade, consisting of seven small panels above two vertical rectangular panels—a typical example of this

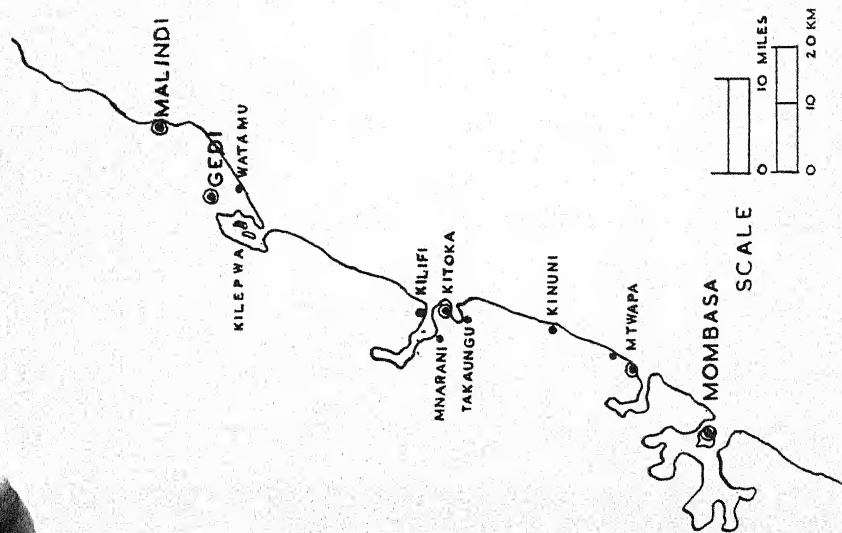


FIG. 1.—Map of the Coast of Kenya, showing sites mentioned in text.

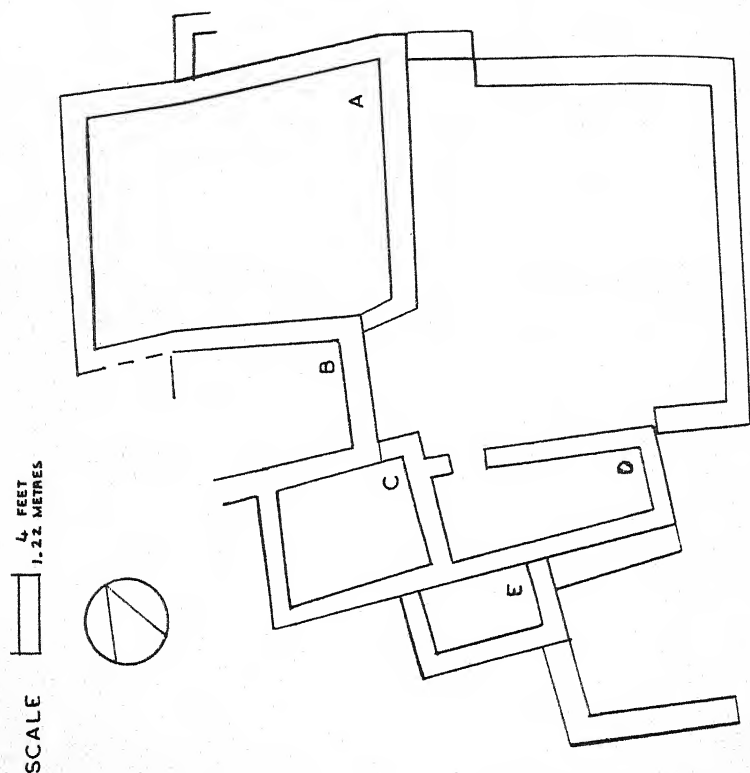


FIG. 2.—Plan of tomb group, Kinuni.

class of pillar tomb. Against it, on its north side, was built a larger tomb of the same type (Tomb A), with an octagonal pillar on a square base, above a frieze of eighteen small panels with three rectangular panels below them. The pillar of this tomb was set at the north end of the façade, as at Kilepwa, and below it was a large plaque which had been torn out. In the enclosure behind the tomb were found two onion-shaped finials which once stood either on the pillars or on top of the façade beside them (Pl. IV B). Against the south side of the original Tomb B is an enclosure without surviving features, probably another tomb (Tomb C), with Tomb D

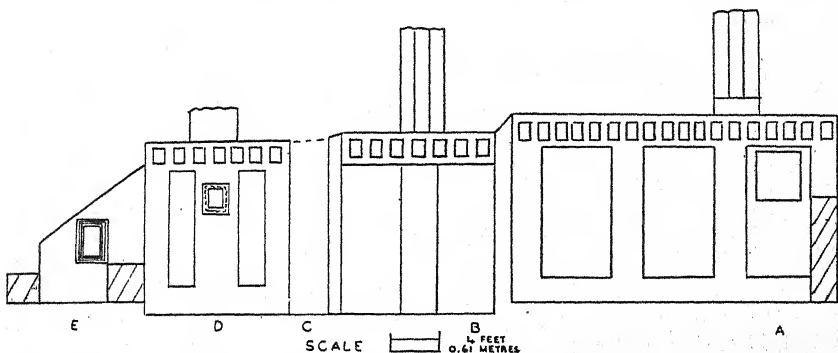


FIG. 3.—Elevation of the pillar tombs, Kinuni.

in front of it. Tomb D has a square pillar, a doorway in the north wall, and a barrel vault of coral tiles. On the façade of this tomb is a carved coral plaque with half-acanthus scroll decoration surrounding a blank space, intended for an epitaph which was never incised (Pl. IV A). This style of decoration in the Levant would be ascribed to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Its presence on a site so much later is surprising, and such a time-lag suggests an interruption in cultural relations with the more sophisticated parts of the Arab world. Against the tomb on its south side was built another tomb (E) with a barrel vault, penthouse roof, and a square window in the middle of the façade. In front of this last tomb is an enclosure with a bench on each side and an open front.

The foundation line of Tombs B and D is six inches below A and E, so B, D, and probably C may be earlier in date. On the north side of Tomb A are the remains of a small enclosure, perhaps a tomb, without pillar or any particular feature. This group of

tombs has two unusual features: the roofs of Tombs D and E and the benches in front of E. In Kenya tombs with permanent roofs are uncommon and I know of no other example among the pillar tombs. The benches in front of E are also hitherto without parallel.

The mosque has collapsed except for the west anteroom and the enclosures on the south side of it. On one side of the doorway in the wall of the anteroom is a square pillar intended to be the jamb of a second door which was never built. The present anteroom had one door on the outside, and probably two on the inside leading into the vanished musalla. The roof was of palm fronds carried on mangrove poles. The axis of the mosque is 11° ; the façades of the tombs vary: A is 28° , B is 22° , C, D, and E are 13° .

Excavation in front of the tombs, at the side of the mosque, and in an open area north of the tombs showed that there was only a single stratum of occupation, and sand was encountered at about two feet below present ground level. The ground level had risen in front of the tombs in the course of occupation from the foundation level B and D to A and E, but there was no made surface and it was impossible to distinguish between what had been lying in the soft grey rubbish earth on the original surface and what had been subsequently pressed down into it.

No complete objects or vessels were found. The more interesting sherds are shown in Pl. IV C and Fig. 4. They are important because by them the tombs and the settlement can be reasonably dated.

The forms of local earthenware were generally similar to types found in the upper levels at Gedi, Kilepwa, and Ungwana, but there was a higher proportion of crudely fashioned vessels. Many of these, however, may belong to the seventeenth century or later, as the tombs may have continued to be visited after the settlement had been abandoned. A familiar type was a jar with upright or near upright neck three inches long. This is a type found only in the later levels at Gedi. The oldest type was a jar with an incised pattern, similar to G.G.M.¹ fig. 19 BA, and a much worn sherd with vertical burnish similar to G.G.M. Loc. C1 30. A new form was an interesting bowl with in-curved lip and notched ornament covered with a black graphite coat (Fig. 4 b).

The Islamic sherds appeared to be a little earlier and resembled

¹ References G.G.M. are to "The Arab City of Gedi—Excavations at the Great Mosque", Oxford, 1954.

the group from below the west verandah of the Great Mosque at Gedi (late fifteenth century) rather than those from the surface levels (sixteenth century). G.G.M. Isl. Classes 10, 11, 16, 18, and 19 were all represented. The sherd from Class 10 had a pattern in black and green on a white ground (Pl. IV C 2). A base of Class 11 followed the form of G.G.M. fig. 24 ab, and had a black circle on a

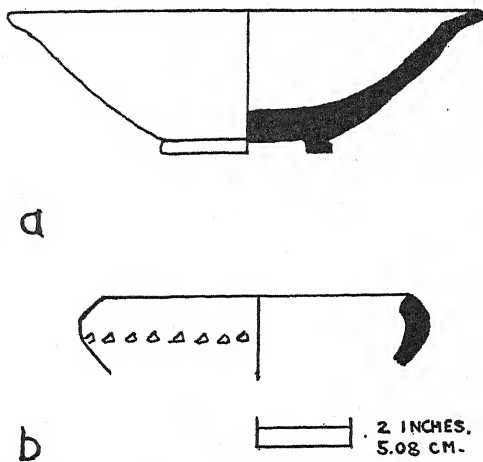


FIG. 4.—Sherds found in excavations at Kinuni.

grey-blue ground. A dish with a green monochrome glaze of Class 19 was found nearly complete in the enclosure of Tomb A (Fig. 4 a). The most interesting were the sherd of Class 16 with slender gadroons in manganese-black on a white ground over a white paste body (Pl. IV C 1), and the sherd of a heavy bowl with a purple glaze on a red body and a shaped and faceted ring base of the same type as G.G.M. Chinese Earthenware Classes 7–9. These two vessels were imitations made in Persia of the contemporary Chinese wares.

The Chinese sherds include one with a yellow-brown glaze and an illegible rectangular stamp; also a number of small sherds of small blue-and-white bowls with badly drawn floral patterns (Pl. IV C 5). These have been ascribed to the late sixteenth century. The bowl that can be most closely dated (Pl. IV C 3, 4) belongs to the period of Wan Li (1573–1619); it was found on the floor of the chamber behind the anteroom of the mosque.

On the evidence outlined above and the absence of celadon and

Islamic yellow-and-black, which are the characteristic wares of the fourteenth century in East Africa, the settlement can be dated as running from the end of the fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. It would have been deserted after the Galla destroyed Kilifi in the early seventeenth century.

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A FIRST DESCRIPTION OF A COLLECTION OF MONGOL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE

BY C. R. BAWDEN

ONE OF THE immediate tasks in the field of Mongol studies is to take stock of the prints and manuscripts scattered in many different libraries.¹ As a small contribution to this task there follows a list of the contents of a collection of Mongol manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge. There are thirty-four texts (plus one in Tibetan written in an ornamental Tibetan script), the majority of them ritualistic in content. There is no general title to the collection, and it gives the impression of being a detached fragment from a private library. There are 389 folios of slightly varying dimensions, the approximate measurements being 28 by 6.5 cm. Eleven of the texts, (Nos. 1-11), totalling 213 folios, are written on paper of uniform quality, and some of the remaining texts can also be sorted into groups on the basis of similarity in the quality of the paper. The folios are contained as two pothis between brocade-covered boards. When first inspected the folios were found to be rather muddled, but it was possible to re-sort them into their correct order within the individual texts, and to establish the probable completeness of the latter.

The folios of each text are numbered on the recto side in Mongol. There is no continuous pagination running through the collection, and consequently no arrangement of the texts among themselves has been undertaken, except to group together as far as possible texts written on the same type of paper. Some of the texts bear the impression in red of seals, details of which are given separately. When they occur, seal No. 1 is found on the first folio of the text concerned, and Nos. 2 and 3 on the last folio. This disposition is indicated in the description below by the notation "Seals"; any exceptional arrangement is noted. The seals are those of the K'eng ze čin wang, seventeenth son of the Chinese Emperor K'ang-hsi (1697-1738),² whence it appears that the collection, or

¹ See W. Heissig: *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen II, Wiesbaden, 1954, page xiii.

² For the religious and literary activity of this prince see Heissig, *op. cit.*, p. 65 et al., and Heissig: *Das mongolische Publikations- und Uebersetzungswesen der Mandju Zeit*, in *Sinologica*, 3, p. 207.

part of it, will have at one time been in the possession of this prince. The manuscripts, which are undated, can thus in part at least be shown to have been written not later than the first decades of the eighteenth century. Each text, whether or not it bears seals, usually has its title placed in the middle of the recto side of the first folio, and written in the same hand as the body of the text. Occasionally however the title has been omitted and inserted by another hand in conjunction with the first seal, when it does not necessarily occupy the centre of the page.

The texts are all calamus written. Many are written in both black and red ink, those passages in red being the accompanying explanations and directions to the ritual, text-title, colophon, and so on. In the same texts, and in a few others, Tibetan and other foreign words in the Mongol text are glossed interlinearly in Tibetan script, usually in red ink. A few texts, which presumably formed part of a larger group or groups, have a Mongol signature-letter in the left margin (Abbreviation LS.).

The manuscripts, which were formerly in the possession of Sir James Haldane Stewart Lockhart, K.C.M.G., LL.D., bear the numbers OR 1764 and OR 1765 of the University Library, Cambridge.

A brief account of the individual texts follows, giving title, notes on their physical appearance, and any relevant information about author, scribe and patron.

VOLUME I

1. *Neng niyūca doysin eke-yin baling qariyul-un yosun-i neyile-güligsen ungsilya orusiba.*

57 folios. 21 lines. Black and red ink, with some interlinear glosses in red Tibetan script to foreign words in the Mongol text. 28 by 6.5 cm. Double-line frame in red, 24.5 by 5.2 cm.

Thick paper of a parchment-like quality and of a uniform brownish colour.

A work composed from various sources by the monk Nag dbang klu grub.

Colophon (56r/16): . . . *kemen neng niyūca doysin eke-yin baling-iyar qariyulqu-yin ſang üile-yi ſokiyaysan ene anu: tamay-a-tu köbegün-ü / bičig-tür qollaſu (sic. ? for golbaſu) öber öber-ün tus-un nom kiged: ökin tegri erkin nöbür bügüde bürin kereg-tei-yin tula: čerig-ün yadaryur eke-yin baling-un ſang üile qangyal maytayal-i gamuy-i ayıladuyči dge 'dun rgya mcho-yin ſokiyaysan ſang üile-yin*

ʃokiyal ba : tegüs čoytu ökin tegri-yin qangyal-un kereg-eče abuyad : güičegeküi üčügiken kereg-tei-nügüd-i zor-un üile-nügüd-i zor-un üiles-nügüd-eče güičegeʃü : terigün segül tegüskeküi-e oriqu ʃang üile-yin (57r) yosuyar ʃokiyaysan egün-i anu : ayay-q-a takimlig nag dbang klu grub ber ene yosun-a kičiyegči boydas-un tayalal čilen ʃokiyabai.

2. *Bege maha-a gala-yin qangyal.*

4 folios. 21 lines. LS. ge. Paper and ductus as No. 1.

A work of the second Dalai Lama, Dge 'dun rgya mts'o.

Colophon (3v/20): . . . *kemen sedkil-ün tangyariy-i qangyayči (4r) qamuy-yi ayiladuyči dge 'dun rgya mcho ʃokiyabai.*

3. *Ilaryysan erketü tamay-a-tu ʃarliy dotar-a naga rakša.*

8 folios. 21 lines. Paper and ductus as No. 1.

Probably a work of the fifth Dalai Lama: cf. the title of No. 11.

4. *Cindamani tamayatu-ača : gomsim bodisadwa sedkil-ün yeke amuyulang-i amuyulukyči-yin büütügel adislaqu-yin čoga.*

14 folios. 21 lines. Paper and ductus as No. 1.

A work of a Dalai Lama.

Colophon (14r/8): . . . *kemeküi ču degedü ilaryysan tegün-i ʃarliy-un ači-bar amiduraysan 'gyur meu rdorce bolai.*

(N.B. There is a Tibetan gloss *med* for *meu*.)

5. *Degedü niyuča qayanggrib-a-yin büütügel üile arilyaqui-yin saran dusul orusiba.*

38 folios. 21 lines. Paper and ductus as No. 1.

This text was one whose translation was specially sponsored by the K'eng ze čin wang, who himself was concerned in the selection of the text-passages and contributed some lines to the colophon.

See 35v/7: . . . *kemen . . . ilaryysan erketü erdeni-yin ʃokiyal-un büütügel badma raga-yin erike-eče arbis bariyči 'ʃam dbyangs grags ba-yin üjšeküleng-tü erdeni-yin sigidkege-yi qolbaʃu : ʃarim-ud-i busud-ača abun güičedgeʃü bičig-tür (36r) toytayulbai : ʃarid büütügel üile yurban-dur tayalbasu üjšeküleng-tü erdeni-yin sigidkege-eče abuytun : gün narin ubadis minu metü aday oyutan todorgai-a ʃokiyayui oron busu-yin tula : ungsily-a tedüi bičin üiledbei : kemekü egün-i yisün kölgen-dür bisiregči mancusiři qayan-u arban doluduyar köbegün kengce čin wang buddha guru real yar-iyar bičibe.*

The translation was made by Bka 'gyur ba at the behest of the K'eng ze čin wang who made the compilation. The scribe was Tegüs sinjilel-tü erdeni umcad ayay-q-a takimlig sayin oyutu duvaca.

See 38/4: . . . *sine qayučin qoliysan řibe-yi arilyan soliysan-i neyilegüllkü: egüdügči buddha guru real kemekü duradqui-yin erketü: bisilyal-un töb bariyči qan köbegün kengze cin wang: ali tegün-ü řarly ċilen bla-a 'gyur ba ber orčiyulbai . . . (38v) . . . bičigči inu tegüs sinřilel-tü erdeni: umcad aqay-q-a takimlig sayin oyutu duwaca bolai. . .*

6. *Nom-i tedkügči egeči düi-ner-ün maytan duradqui ünles-ün řarudasun kemegdeküi.*

2 folios. 21 lines. Paper and ductus as No. 1.

Composed by the second Dalai Lama.

Colophon (2v/14): . . . *kemegdeküi-yi nagso mgon bo: ce 'pal-un tuydam-dur čoytu dge 'dun rgya mcho yayiqamisy-a řokiyān ügülebei.*

7. *Angyargai včir tamay-a-tu-yin dotoraki včir sula yabudal-tu-yin řang üile badarangyui oyтары-yin ayungya orusiba.*

23 folios. 21 lines. Paper and ductus as No. 1.

8. *Tungyalay sim-e-yi tatayči-yin ündüsün-ü řalbaril.*

2 folios plus one blank folio. 21 lines. Paper and ductus as No. 1.

Written at the behest of Buyan-u sadun rgya mcho skal bzang by the old monk Badma 'prin las.

Colophon (2v/3): . . . *ene kemebesü buyan-u sadun rgya mcho skal bzang ber duraduy-san-u ildar-a: ebügen ayay-q-a takimlig badma 'prin las ber bičibe.*

9. *Gurban oron-i sür-iyer daruyči arban doluyan burqan-tu hayanggirib-a-yin büügel.*

24 folios. 21 lines. Paper and ductus as No. 1. Corrections and alterations in brush writing on folios 1, 2, and 3.

A work of the fifth Dalai Lama.

Colophon (24v/15): . . . *gamuy-i medegči tabdayar ilayuy-san erke-tü tamay-a-tu řarly.*

10. *Tadasun-u sakiyulsun-u takiqui-yin řerge orusiba.*

3 folios. 21 lines. Paper and ductus as No. 1.

Composed by the fifth Dalai Lama.

Colophon (3r/5): . . . *tabdayar ilayuy-san-u řokiyaysan.*

VOLUME II

11. *Ilayuy-san erketü tamay-a-tu čindamani erdeni-yin küü sang dotor včir yadasun-u řang üile.*

17 folios. 21 lines. Paper and ductus as No. 1.

A work of the fifth Dalai Lama.

Colophon (17r/16): ... *qamuy-i medegči tabdayar ilayuyusan erke-tü tamay-a-tu jarliy.*

12. *Dörben doysin baling.*

7 folios. 20 lines. Thin smooth paper. Double-line frame in red, 23.5 by 4.3 cm. Black ink. Seals.

Composed by the monk Sayin oyutu nom ilayuyusan čimeg.

Colophon (7r/18): ... *ayay-q-a takimlig sayin oyutu nom ilayuyusan čimeg jokiyabai.*

13. *Migcima-yin blam-a yoga.*

2 folios. 20 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 12. Black ink. Seals.

Compiled by Canhur-un bandi.

Colophon (2v/5): ... *kemeküi egiini yeke ordu qarsi begecin-ün oyira-yi sira süme-yin blama bsam blq erdeni čorči migcim-a-luy-a barilduyulqu-yin ungsilya-yi ürgülči üiledküi nigen kereg-tei kemen yosučilaysan čilen canhur-un bandhi ber nayirayulbai.*

14. *Edür-ün ?jisayan-u toya.*

2 folios. 19 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 12. Black ink. Seals. Title written in by brush in black in a different hand to the left of seal No. 1 which occupies the centre of folio 1.

15. *Oyun sudulqui irügel.*

5 folios. 21 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 12. Black ink. Seals. Some interlinear corrections and Tibetan glosses. Title written in by brush in a different hand in black in the centre. Seal No. 1 stands to the right of the title.

LS. *gi.*

16. *Arban жүг-ün irügel.*

7 folios. 20 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 12. Black ink. Seals. Title written in by calamus in black in a different hand to the left of the centre.

Compiled at the behest of the K'eng ze čin wang by the "king of eloquence" Sayin buyan-tu na dvang glag 'jampal dorči.

Colophon (7r/8): ... *kemegsen egiini ču arban doluduyar age-yin duraduyusan-dur dulduyidču kelen-ü erketü sayin buyan-tu na dvang glag 'jampal dorči ber nayirayulbai.*

17. *Ökin tegri-yin bütiügel.*

5 folios. 21 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 12. Black ink. Seals. LS. *lha.*

Compiled by the second Dalai Lama Gendun rgyamso (Dge 'dun rgya mts'o).

Colophon (5r/20): ... *kemeküi egüini gendun rgyamso ber nayirayuluyusan bolai.*

18. *Gürügüle-yin ile onol orusiba.*

6 folios. 24 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 12. Black ink. Seals.

Compiled by the "king of eloquence" Sayin oyutu nom tegülder sayin čoytu when old and in ill health.

Colophon (6r/18): ... *kemeküi egüini nigen nigen kereg-ten duraduyusan ildar-a ebügen ebečitü kelen erketü sayin oyutu nom tegülder sayin čoytu nayirayulbai.*

19. *Ökin tegri-dür baling ergükü.*

3 folios. 19 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 12, with first folio of thicker paper. Black ink. Seal No. 1. LS. *ga.*

Compiled by Canhur-un bandi in the Uqayan-i baričei qubilyan beyetü erdeni-yin tuydam, and written by the scribe 'pyong rgyas lgung (?) ba punchogs dbangbo.

Colophon (3r/16): ... *egüini inu uqayan-i baričei qubilyan bey-e-tü erdeni-yin tuydam-dur canhur-un bandi / nayirayuluyusan-u bičigcin anu: 'pyong rgyas lgung ba punchogs dbangbo bolai.*

20. *Dakinis-un üsüg orusiba.*

3 folios. 23 lines. Smooth paper. Double-line frame in red 23·8 by 4·8 cm. Black ink. Seal No. 1.

Mongol text, with Tibetan alphabets listed.

21. *Bacar bidaran-a-yin bütügel.*

8 folios. 17 lines. Thickish hard paper. Double-line frame in red, 22·3 by 4·5 cm. Black ink. Seals. LS. *gu.*

Compiled by the first Panchen Lama, Sumatidharmadhvaja, at the behest of bge bču s . . . (illegible) odzer and Yeke noyan legsbai.

Colophon (8r/2): ... *kemen . . . ene yosun-i süfüg kiged öglige ba šayšabad terigüten-e dedegüs ber sayisiyaysan erdeni-lüg-e tegü(süg)sen öber-ün šabi bge bču s . . . odzer kiged: yeke noyan legsbai neretü qoyar ber ene metü abqui-dur kilbar nigen keregtei kemen yekede simtan duraduyusan-dur sitüfü: sagy-a-yin dgeslong sumadi dharm-a duvaca ber sayitur nayirayuluyusan bolai.*

22. *Yamandaga irügel.*

7 folios. 17 lines. Paper and frame as No. 21. Black ink. Seals. LS. *ngi.*

A work of a Dalai Lama.

Colophon (7r/12): ... *gamuy-i medegči quvaray-un dalai ber jokiyaysan bolai.*

23. *Čoytu včir ayuyuluγči-yin abisig.*

14 folios. 16 lines. Thick smooth whitish paper. Double-line frame in red, 23 by 3.9 cm. Black ink. Seals. Title written in by brush in red to the left of the centre of folio 1, which is occupied by seal No. 1.

A work of the first Panchen Lama.

Colophon (14r/14): . . . *egüni inu boyda bančen erdeni : sumadi dharm-a duvača ber jokiyaysan bolai.*

24. *Nirdindar-a guhy-a ĩcan-a-yin delgerenggüi dumdadu qoyar ĩül gangyal namančılal orusiba.*

19 folios. 26 lines. Smooth brownish paper. Single-line frame in red, 22.5 by 4.5 cm. Red and black ink. LS. *mi.*

Colophon (19r/5): . . . *kemen . . . guhy-a ĩcana dakini-yin : dalai metü üiles-eče : gangyal namančılal-i ebkegsen egün-i : ha sa bacar tere üiledbei : guhy-a ĩcana dakini-yin delgerenggüi dumda gangyal namančılal tegüsbe.*

25. *Niγuča belge bilig-ün dakini-yi bütügekü ary-a-yin öggügsed dakinis-un sayın mör-ün ungsily-a-yin ĩang üile kemekü orusiba.*

24 folios. 27 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 24. Red and black ink. LS. *ca.*

26. *Turban iřayur kiged nom-un sakiγulsun-muyud-tur takiqui baling küsegsen egerel gangγayči kemegdekü orusiba.*

6 folios. 26 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 24. Red and black ink.

Colophon (6r/17): . . . *kemen . . . blo bzang rinčün changs dbyangs rgya mcho ber γar-iyar bičigsen cayantu (?)*.

27. *Cindamani irügel buyu.*

5 folios. 25 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 24. Red and black ink.

Colophon (5r/11): . . . *kemen nomlabai : nom-un kürdün γutayar bui : tere čay-tur töbed-ün qan qaračus-un sedkil bütüĳü : tegri-yin köbegün mukri boambo ber temdeg bičig-tür jokiyān boro mošan (?) qayur(r)čay-tur niγubai : bidya dhara-tan örbelgetü ber emüne sang-ača ĩalabai : samaya : rgya rgya rgya.*

28. *Yakša-yin öčig bütügel-ün ary-a orusiba.*

3 folios. 26 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 24. Red and black ink.

Colophon (3r/13): . . . *kemen ariγun degeři-yi arban ĩüg-tür sačuřu duradyad üiledkü bolai : qada-yin albin aqa degüü dolurula-yin öčig öčiküi layičang badma gabala erketü ber jokiyabai : sa ma ya :*

*rgya rgya rgya : badma yeke erketü-yin jarliy-un sakiyulsun bolai :
ba tam : sayin buyan.*

29. *Joriy ügei-yin tayilburi.*

4 folios. 24 lines. Thick smooth white paper. Double-line frame in red, 22 by 4.3 cm. Black ink.

30. *Ĵiči qariyulı-a včir almas-un anggar-un abulı-a geyigül-ün üiledügči kemegdekü orusiba.*

3 folios. 24 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 29. Black ink. Some Tibetan glosses in red.

Written by the dge-slon Padma 'prin las.

Colophon (3r/7) : . . . *kemen yang brug degedü qubilıan qamuy-i medegči-yin tuydam bisilıal-dur ene metü keregtei kemegsen-dür : gelung badma prin las bičibeı.*

31. *Blam-a-yin tayalal-un quriyangyui-ača : gegen ĵula-yin belge öļei-tü genel badarangyui kemegdekü orusiba.*

7 folios. 24 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 29. Black ink. Some Tibetan glosses in red.

Ascribed to Padma Sambhava and hidden by him for the benefit of future generations.

Colophon (7v/8) : . . . *qoyitus-un tulada badma ber ĵokiyafı sang-dur niıyusın bolai : niıyubai rgya : qatangıadbai rgya : sang rgya : dha im.*

32. *Belge bilig-ün eke dakini-yi bütiügeküı ary-a.*

6 folios. 17 lines. Paper and frame similar to No. 29. Black ink. Seals. LS. be.

A work of the first Panchen Lama.

Colophon (6r/4) : . . . *kemen arsalan terigütü-yin ilede onol-un segül-dür nayırayulı bolqu egüni ču dges long sumadı dharma dwaca ber ügüleksen bolai.*

33. *Nıyüča bütiigel-ün hayanggrib-a-dur sitüĵü amurlıngyui tülesin öĵlige üiledküı belge bilig-ün badarangyui genel kemegdekü orusiba.*

18 folios. 21 lines. Smooth white paper. Double-line frame, 24.5 by 5.3 cm. Red and black ink.

Colophon (17v/9) : . . . *egün-i basa sbute ste lčang lo yin-u iinen nom üiledügči di yındar-a bacar-un jarliy-ıyar duradıysın-dur sitüĵü : ĵiči nıyüča hayanggrib-a ba urıda orčıyulıysın yerü-yin ıoul yosun metü üiledügsen böged : . . . bičıgsen-ü bičıgči inu bısın degedü otači-bar üiledügsen-ü buyan-ıyar qamuy amıtan-u belge bilig-ün üĵegdel öbedegsi delgereküı bolıuyai.*

34. *Ökin tegri-yin takıl-un ĵang üile quriyaysın.*

29 folios. 18 lines. Thick whitish paper. Double-line black frame, 24.7 by 4 cm. Red and black ink with Tibetan glosses in red. Seal No. 1 only, on folio 1.

Compiled and written by Blo bzang dvang rgyal rdo rje for his own recitation.

Colophon (28v/1): . . . *egüni blo bzang dvang rgyal rdo rje ner-e-tü öber-iin ungsil-y-a-yin tula yar-iyar bičün nayirayulbai*. . .

35. *Skyabs 'gro bzugs so*.

3 folios. Seals. Black ink. A Tibetan text in archaic or pseudo-archaic Tibetan script.¹

A NOTE ON THE SEALS

The seals illustrated occur on the first (No. 1) and last (Nos. 2 and 3) folios respectively of some of the texts of the present collection. All three are seals of the K'eng ze čin wang, seventeenth son of the Emperor K'ang-hsi.

No. 1. Text in Tibetan script:

'jam dbyaṅs brtse / c'en rgyal po'i sras / bcu bdun pa k'eṅ / ze waṅ gi t'am ka.

"Seal of the K'eng ze wang, seventeenth son of the 'Jam dbyaṅs brtse c'en King."

Dimensions of seal:	Exterior of frame	6.3 by 6.3 cm.
	Interior of frame	4.3 by 4.3 cm.
	Internal frame	4.1 by 4.1 cm.

No. 2. Text in Tibetan script:

bud dha gu / ru rtsal. (A name of the K'eng ze čin wang.) See No. 5, fol. 36r and Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, p. 77, note 10, for the full title "Manjusiri qayan-u arban doluduyar köbegün kengce čin wang buddha guru real".

Dimensions of seal:	3 by 3 cm.
	2 by 2 cm.
	1.7 by 1.7 cm.

No. 3. Text in Tibetan in a form of 'P'ags-pa script.²

k'e ṅ ze va ṅ / gi rta g s.

"Mark of the K'eng ze wang."

Dimensions of seal (horizontal first):	2.8 by 2.8 cm.
	1.8 by 1.8 cm.
	1.4 by 2.5 cm.

¹ My thanks are due to Professor J. Brough for this identification.

² I am grateful to Sir Gerard Clauson for his kind advice and help in the reading of this seal.

The characters used in this seal are of a form rather different from those of the 'P'ags-pa alphabet as given on pages 4-5 of Poppe's *Grammar of Written Mongolian*. Very similar forms are found in the inscription and alphabet reproduced by Banzarov in an article *O dvukh sredneaziatskikh alfavitalkh*,¹ and closer still are the forms given in a short text reproduced in Enga Teramoto's *Chibetto-go Bumpō*.² However, the closest resemblance is with the characters listed under the title "*Horyig series*" by A. H. Francke in an article entitled *Note on the Dalai Lama's Seal and the Tibeto-Mongolian Characters*.³ Of particular interest is the letter *v* which appears in a form evidently compounded from *l* and *b*, after the manner of the corresponding Tibetan letter, and not in the form listed by Poppe.

¹ Dorji Banzarov, *Sobranie Sochinenii*, Moscow 1955, pp. 104-111.

² Frontispiece. Revised and supplemented edition, Tokyo 1929.

³ In the 1910 number of this journal, pp. 1205-1214.

TIBET IN ANGLO-CHINESE RELATIONS :

1767-1842

BY ALISTAIR LAMB

PART I

FROM 1764, WHEN the British position in Bengal was established beyond challenge, until 1842, when the Treaty of Nanking gave Britain the island colony of Hong Kong, the shortest route between British and Chinese territory lay across the Himalaya mountains. Until the Gurkha War of 1814-1816, the southern slopes of the Himalayas and the states that lay along them formed a narrow buffer between British territory and Tibet. As a result of the Gurkha War, British influence was brought right up to the Tibetan border, through the annexation of Kumaon in the western Himalayas, and through the establishment of a vague protectorate over the tiny hill state of Sikkim. Tibet had been evolving into a Chinese dependency since the beginning of the eighteenth century. This process, nearly complete by 1750, reached its final stage in 1792, when Tibet became, to all intents and purposes, an integral part of the Chinese Empire. The British in India were well aware of their proximity to this outpost of the power of the Chinese Emperor. In a period when British dealings with China were confined to trade at a single port, Canton, in conditions that were far from ideal, it would have been most surprising if no attempts had been made to develop Anglo-Chinese relations across the far from impassable barrier of the Himalayas.

The British began to appreciate the significance of Tibet in this respect as soon as they had established their rule in Bengal. A trade then flourished across the mountains between Tibet and the Gangetic Plain by way of the hill states of the Vale of Nepal, Katmandu, Batgaon, and Patan, at that time ruled by Rajas with the closest ties of religion, race, and culture to Tibet. This trade, unlike that of the East India Company with China at Canton, gave rise to a balance of payments in favour of India. A flow of specie into British territory resulted from it at a time when the Company was being criticized for exporting gold and silver to China.

No sooner had the British arrived in a position in which they could benefit from the trade across the Himalayas than it came to an abrupt end. The Gurkhas, a tribe from the west of the present

kingdom of Nepal, began to undergo in the 1760s a rapid process of expansion. Their warlike qualities, which seem to have long lain dormant, were suddenly made plain when Gurkha armies conquered, one after the other, the three states of the Vale of Nepal and founded a kingdom which was destined to go on expanding until it was checked during the years 1814 to 1816 by British arms.

In 1767 the Gurkhas had nearly completed their conquest of the Vale. The trade across the mountains to Tibet had come to an abrupt halt. Since this trade was "an advantageous trade . . . by which a considerable quantity of gold, and many other valuable commodities were imported", and since the East India Company had no wish to see its territories "deprived of the benefits arising from the former intercourse, at a period when a decline of trade and a scarcity of specie render it of the greatest importance that every spring of industry should flow freely and without interruption",¹ it tried to prevent the conquests of the Gurkhas.²

The Company, in fact, realized that not only did the trade with Tibet provide a source of specie which might be offset against the expenditure of the Chinese tea trade, but also that across the Himalayas there might be found a route for the introduction of British manufactures, especially British woollen textiles, into the Chinese Empire. The attempts to sell such goods at Canton had been most disappointing. As the Court of Directors had written to Bengal on 16th February, 1768: "We desire you will obtain the best intelligence you can whether trade can be opened with Napaul, and whether cloth and other European commodities may not find their way from thence to Tibet, Lhassa, and the Western Parts of China."³ When it became clear that the Gurkhas had closed the route through Nepal and that there was nothing to be done at that time to reopen it, the Court of Directors instructed the Bengal Government to search for alternative routes through the neighbouring Himalayan state of Bhutan.⁴

¹ Hodgson MSS (in India Office Library). Vol. 1, f. 26. Sketch of the Relations between the British Government and Nepal, quoting Select Committee to Home Government, 25th Sept., 1767.

² In 1767, in response to an appeal from the Raja of Patan, the Bengal Government dispatched Captain Kinloch and a small force to try to arrest the advance of the Gurkhas. J. Talboys Wheeler, *Short History of India*, London, 1889, p. 463.

³ Home Miscellaneous Series in India Office Records. Vol. 219, f. 325.

⁴ S. C. Sarcar. Some notes on the intercourse of Bengal with Northern Countries in the second half of the eighteenth century. *Proc. Indian Historical Records Commission*, vol. xiii, 1930, pp. 104-105.

To Warren Hastings fell the opportunity to carry out these instructions. In 1772 a war broke out between a Himalayan hill state, Bhutan, and the small Indian state of Cooch Behar. The latter, hard pressed, requested British help. In the following year, in return for a treaty which placed Cooch Behar under British protection, Hastings sent a small force of British troops against the Bhutanese, who were soon obliged to retire into the hills. The 6th Panchen Lama of Tibet, then the leading figure in Tibetan politics, the Dalai Lama being a minor, wrote to Hastings on behalf of the defeated Bhutanese, who were in some measure Tibetan dependents. When Hastings received this letter in March, 1774, he resolved to treat the vanquished Bhutanese with leniency and to send a friendly mission to the court of the Panchen Lama (or Tashi Lama, as Hastings called him) at Tashilhumpo near Shigatse in Tibet. To this task he deputed George Bogle, a young Scot in the Company's service whose ability and tact had come to Hastings' notice.¹

Hastings was influenced in his decision to send this mission partly by his curiosity as to what went on in Tibet, about which he had already learnt something from the accounts of the Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries who had resided in Lhasa before 1750, when the establishment of the Chinese protectorate brought down that barrier against foreign travel which already existed in other parts of the Chinese Empire. In part he was concerned with the role which the Panchen Lama might assume as mediator on behalf of the British among the warlike states of the Himalayas, Nepal and Bhutan. But there can be little doubt that his main interest was in finding an answer to two of the main problems besetting British trade at Canton, the adverse balance and the difficulty of selling British manufactures to the Chinese. In his instructions to Bogle, Hastings drew particular attention to the Tibetan wealth in gold and silver, and to the considerable trade which existed between Tibet and Western China. Bogle was told to inquire carefully into the relations between China and Tibet and the nature of the roads that linked the two countries together.²

The story of Bogle's mission has been told elsewhere. It suffices

¹ See: C. R. Markham, *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*, London, 1876. S. Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, Princeton, 1951.

² Markham, *Narratives*, op. cit., pp. 5-8.

to say that he reached Tashilhumpo in December, 1774, and that he remained in Tibet for five months, during which period he established a firm and mutual friendship with the 6th Panchen Lama. The Lama promised to use his influence in opening a trade route through the territory of the somewhat turbulent rulers of Bhutan and to see that the peace of the Himalayan frontier was maintained. Bogle acquired a great deal of accurate information about the people, religion, government, customs, and trade of Tibet which he presented to Hastings in a number of admirably clear reports. As far as the immediate object of creating a new channel for the trans-Himalayan trade was concerned the Mission was a moderate success. Bogle, however, came to a conclusion about the nature of the relationship between Tibet and China that gave to the establishment of Anglo-Tibetan relations a new significance.

The Panchen Lama, Bogle discovered, was not only the most important man in Tibet, during the minority of the Dalai Lama, but also he exerted an influence far beyond the Tibetan borders. The 6th Panchen was, moreover, a man of exceptional sanctity whose reputation stood higher than that of any of his predecessors. The Chinese Emperors, Bogle noted, "being of Tatar extraction, profess the religion of the Lamas, and reverence them as the head of their faith." This was especially so in the case of the 6th Panchen, whose "character and abilities had secured him the favour of the Emperor" so that "his representations carried great weight at the Court of Peking".¹ Bogle went as far as to describe the relationship of Lama and Chinese Emperor as being comparable to that of Pope and Medieval German Emperor. Here lay the germ of the idea that the Panchen Lama might be used by the British to pave the way for the establishment of a British representative at Peking, whose voice would reach the ears of the Emperor without undergoing the distortions imposed by the Chinese hierarchy that separated the British at Canton from the Chinese capital. While at Tashilhumpo, Bogle sounded the Lama on this question and the Tibetan pontiff promised to do all he could to help. He promised to write to a Lama friend of his in Peking, "who has great interest with the Emperor," in praise of the British and he held out the hope that it might eventually be possible for an envoy of the Company to make his way through Tibet to the Chinese capital.

¹ Markham, *Narratives*, op. cit., pp. 195-6.

While Bogle was "not so sanguine" about the prospect of this, he did not quite despair of "one day or other getting a sight of Peking".¹

News that the Panchen Lama was about to go from Tibet to China to visit the Emperor led Bogle, in July, 1778, to return once more to this theme. In a memorandum to Warren Hastings he proposed to take advantage of the Lama's visit to obtain passports for himself to travel to Peking. The Lama, Bogle reported, had said he would try to get such documents; he doubted if Bogle would be allowed to travel overland by way of Tibet, but he saw no reason why the Company Envoy should not go to Peking through Canton. Bogle argued that there was a crying need for a British Envoy to negotiate in Peking for the repayment of the large debts which were then owing to Englishmen in Canton by Chinese merchants. He noted, furthermore, that "the Company's business (at Canton) is often harassed and oppressed, and its conductors are entirely without any channel of communication or representation to the Court of Peking". Even if the Lama did not get him passports, Bogle concluded, there was every chance that he might arrange some other means whereby the British case could be presented in Peking without distortion.²

Hastings welcomed these proposals. In April, 1779, he made it quite clear that the use of Tibet as the diplomatic back door to China had become the goal of his Tibetan policy and had dwarfed considerations of frontier policy and local Indo-Tibetan trade.

"The connection and friendship which have been formed with Teshoo Lama (Panchen Lama)," he wrote on this occasion, "may eventually produce advantages of a far more extensive nature," since "by means of the Teshoo Lama . . . I am inclined to hope that a communication may be opened with the court of Peking, either through his mediation or by an Agent from the Government; it is impossible to point out the precise advantages which either the opening of new Channels of Trade, or in obtaining redress of Grievances, or extending the privileges of the Company, may

¹ Markham, *Narratives*, op. cit., p. 134.

² Markham, *Narratives*, op. cit., pp. 207-210. Cammann, op. cit., p. 67, n. 64, makes out that this memorandum was dated July, 1779. This cannot be so, since it is quite clear the statement of Hastings, of April, 1779, which is quoted below, is an answer to Bogle's proposals. Cammann has only seen this document in a quotation from Sarcar, op. cit. p. 121.

result from such an Intercourse ; like the navigation of unknown seas, which are explored not for the attainment of any certain and prescribed object, but for the discovery of what they may contain. In so new and remote a search we can only propose to adventure for possibilities, the attempt may be crowned with the most splendid and substantial success, or it may terminate in the mere gratification of useless curiosity, but the hazard is small, the design is worthy of the pursuit of a rising state, the Company have both approved and recommended it, and the means are too promising to be neglected, while the influence of the Teshoo Lama joined to the favourable disposition which he has hitherto manifested to our nation, affords so fair a prospect, and that the only one which may ever be presented to us of accomplishing it." ¹

The opportunity that seemed so promising in 1779 came to nothing owing to an unhappy chain of events. The Panchen Lama, when he saw the Emperor in China, was to have sought the passports which Bogle needed to visit Peking. Once these had been secured, word was to have been sent to India and Bogle was to have set out to join his old friend at the Chinese capital, probably travelling by way of Canton. But the Panchen Lama died of smallpox in Peking in 1780, before he had made any progress in the matter of the passports—there was much rumour to the effect that he had been murdered by the Chinese because of the friendship he had shown to the British, but this is now generally discounted.² In the following year Bogle also died and Hastings was deprived of the services of the only Englishman with experience of Tibet. One may well speculate what would have been the outcome had Bogle been able to visit Peking. He would have done so as the envoy of the East-India Company and not of the King of England and would, in consequence, not have been so concerned with questions of "face" which brought on the kow-tow crises and rendered abortive the missions of Macartney and Amherst. Bogle possessed the skill and the tact required in the tortuous conduct of oriental diplomacy, as his success with the Panchen Lama stands witness. He had the patience and the intelligence for the kind of negotiation that would produce results only by the establishment of a mutual good will over a long period of time. Acting under the command of

¹ Home Miscellaneous, vol. 219, f. 375. Extract from Bengal General Consultations, 19th April, 1779.

² Cammann, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-80.

Warren Hastings, he would have been allowed a freedom of action that was denied to later envoys, and his discretion was such that he would certainly have made the best use of any opportunity which lay to hand.

Hastings did not abandon his Tibetan schemes on the deaths of the Panchen Lama and George Bogle. The installation of the new Panchen Lama, an infant into whose body the soul of the 6th Panchen was thought to have migrated, provided him with the opportunity to send a second mission to Tashilhumpo to bring the good wishes of the Government of India on this happy occasion. The task of bearing this message was entrusted to Samuel Turner, a kinsman of Hastings, who set out for Tashilhumpo in 1783. There was no prospect of Turner repeating Bogle's triumphs since the Panchen Lama was an infant. The second mission to Tibet could do no more than reinforce the good will established by the first mission.

Turner was convinced that with patience the project which had been thwarted by the death of the 6th Panchen might yet come about. It was essential that every effort be made to continue the friendly contacts that had been established in 1774, and the surest means to do this would be by the encouragement of trade between India and Tibet. A mutually profitable trade was the most certain way to mutual friendship. As Turner put it, on his return from Tibet in 1784: "whenever a regular intercourse takes place between the agents of the government of Bengal and the chiefs of Tibet, I shall consider it to be the sure basis of an intercourse with China; and it will probably be, by the medium of the former, that we shall be enabled to arrive at Peking."¹

Turner's conclusion, in fact, was that the best way to bring about an improvement in Anglo-Chinese relations was for the Company to do all it could to encourage trade across the Himalayas. It is perhaps of significance in this connection, as an indication of the aspect of his Tibetan policy upon which Hastings placed the greatest emphasis, that until Turner's return, despite much correspondence on the subject, Hastings had taken no official action to encourage trade between Bengal and Tibet. In April, 1784,

¹ Samuel Turner, *An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet; containing a narrative of a journey through Bootan, and part of Tibet.* London, 1800, p. 373. Turner's report to Hastings on his return, dated 2nd March, 1784.

however, a month after Turner had returned from Tibet and reported to Hastings on the result of his mission, such official action was taken. On 22nd April, 1784, Hastings instructed that an advertisement should be circulated inviting native Indian merchants to join in an "adventure" in trade with Tibet through the recently opened Bhutanese route. The party of merchants was to assemble in February of the following year. A detailed list of goods likely to find a market in Tibet was included. The advertisement stated that this first venture, so that it should have every chance of success, was to be exempted from all duties.¹ In 1785 the "adventure" took place according to plan, and a flourishing and profitable trade seems to have resulted. But by then Hastings had left India for good and his plan to exploit this trade for diplomatic ends seems to have faded into the background.²

If Hastings' scheme to open direct relations with the Chinese Emperor through Tibet seems to have gone into eclipse following the departure of the Governor-General from India, there is still a certain amount of evidence to suggest that the possibility of Tibet playing a part in Anglo-Chinese relations was not completely forgotten by the East India Company. It is probable that the happy outcome of the two missions of Bogle and Turner suggested strongly that some good might derive from a British mission to the Chinese Emperor himself. Shortly after Hastings' return to England the difficulties of the Company's position at Canton in the face of the obduracy of the local Chinese authorities, which had been indicated in Bogle's memorandum of July, 1778, brought the Court of Directors and the Board of Control to the same conclusion that Bogle had earlier arrived at. A British mission must go to Peking. In 1787 Lt.-Col. Cathcart was deputed to this task. A hint to the effect that this mission was not completely unconnected with the earlier Tibetan ventures is provided by the suggestion that Cathcart might proceed to China by way of Tibet. When this was vetoed by the Board of Control on the grounds that such a journey would be "too long and hazardous to be entered upon, as well as very doubtful in the result",³ Cathcart then proposed

¹ Home Miscellaneous, vol. 219, f. 469. Hastings to E. Wheeler, 22nd April, 1784.

² Turner, *Embassy*, op. cit., pp. 419-433. Home Miscellaneous, vol. 608, f. 33.

³ H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China*, vol. ii. Oxford, 1926, p. 162. Quoted from Cathcart's instructions, 30th November, 1787.

that after reaching Peking by way of Canton he should send his secretary, Agnew, home through Tibet.¹

The establishment of relations between the British and the centre of Chinese power by means of a channel of communication through Tibet had obvious advantages for the East India Company. Any improvements in the condition of trade with China by sea which an Ambassador from the King of England might secure would have to be open to all the King's subjects. As Dundas told the Court of Directors in 1787, it was unthinkable that "in negotiating with the Emperor of China, the King of Great Britain is obliged to accept a settlement with such a restriction in it, as of necessity obliges him to carry on the trade of China by an exclusive Company".² But improvement in a trade of which one terminus lay within the Company's territory was clearly another matter. Improvement in the trade across the Himalayas carried no threat to the Company's monopoly.

The Cathcart Mission failed owing to the death of its leader while at sea on the way to China. The project was revived with the sending of Lord Macartney on a similar mission in 1792. Here again, while the immediate object was to improve conditions of trade at Canton, there are still hints that some thought had been given to the Tibetan route. In Macartney's instructions, as in those of Cathcart, Dundas at the Board of Control was at pains to state categorically that the British Ambassador should not travel to China by way of Tibet.³ And, as in the case of the Cathcart Mission, Macartney gave serious thought to the possibility of exploring the Tibetan route as a means of communication between Peking and the East India Company. He was musing on this idea on the voyage out to China; while off the coast of Sumatra he wrote to Dundas that he had just suggested to Cornwallis, then Governor-General of India, that Cornwallis should "communicate with me not only by way of Canton, but also by Tibet, and I propose to try that way also from Peking in order to let you know, if possible,

¹ E. H. Pritchard, *The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations, 1750-1800. Research Studies of the State College of Washington, IV, 1936.* Pullman, Washington, 1937, p. 239.

² Morse, *Chronicles*, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 155.

³ Morse, *Chronicles*, vol. ii, op. cit., p. 235. Instructions to Macartney, 8th Sept., 1792.

the sooner of my arrival at that Capital, and what may be the likelihood of my success there".¹

When Macartney wrote to this effect he was not aware of the radical alteration in the situation in the Himalayas that had ruled out completely the Tibetan route. He knew of the policy of Hastings towards Tibet—he was Governor of Madras at the time of Turner's return from Tashilhumpo—but the slowness of communications had kept him in ignorance of the chain of events that not only upset the work of Hastings but also endangered the success of his own mission to China.

In 1788 the Gurkhas invaded the territory of the Panchen Lama in Tibet and occupied several points across the Tibetan border. The Tibetans had no forces with which to oppose them and only persuaded them to withdraw on the promise of the payment of a substantial indemnity.² Before this had been agreed to, the authorities at Tashilhumpo remembered the promises of friendship which had been made to them by the two envoys of Hastings and appealed to the British for help against the Gurkha invaders. Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, replied in a somewhat ambiguous manner. It was clear that he did not want to be involved in a Himalayan war or take any action which might be construed as hostile by the Gurkhas; yet he wished to derive some benefit from this development in the Himalayan situation. He promised, in his reply to Tashilhumpo, that he would give no assistance to the

¹ CO. 77 79. (A collection of miscellaneous letters relating to the Macartney Mission, preserved in the PRO.) Macartney to Dundas. Off the coast of Sumatra, 25th March, 1793.

² The somewhat confused history of the two Tibet-Nepalese wars is discussed in : Cammann, op. cit., chapters v and vi.

D. B. Diskalkar, *The Tibeto-Nepalese War of 1788-93*, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. xix. Patna, 1933. This prints much of the correspondence between the Company, Tibet, and Nepal that took place during the war.

Home Miscellaneous, vol. 608, f. 33. A summary of correspondence.

Sir G. Staunton, Bart., *An authentic account of an Embassy from Great Britain to the Emperor of China, etc.*, 2 vols. London, 1797. Vol. ii, p. 211 et seq.

W. Kirkpatrick, *An account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*. London, 1811, pp. 339-379.

Turner, *Embassy*, op. cit., pp. 437-442.

BM Add. MSS. 39, 871. Warren Hastings Papers. Supp. Vol. I, f. 51. S. Turner to W. Hastings, 25th Nov., 1792.

W. W. Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, etc.* *T'oung Pao*, vol. xi, 1910, pp. 60-63. Gives extracts from Chinese sources.

M. C. Imbault-Huart, *Histoire de la Conquête du Népal, etc.*, *Journal Asiatique*. Paris, 1878.

Gurkhas; but he added that neither could he give any active help to the Tibetans. The Company could not afford the expense of a hill war; it had received no provocation from the Gurkhas; it did not want to intervene in a matter which concerned a dependant of the Chinese Emperor without first being asked to do so by that ruler. Perhaps, Cornwallis concluded rather disingenuously, his answer would have been different if the Company had possessed a representative in Peking and had been in a closer relationship with the Chinese Government. It was not too late, Cornwallis implied, for Tashilhumpo to use its influence to bring this about; it was very much in its interest to do so.¹

It is clear from this correspondence that Cornwallis was less interested in the value of the local trans-Himalayan trade, of which he was well aware,² and which was bound to suffer from any increase in the power and extent of Nepal, than in the opportunity which the Tibetan hour of need promised to give for the establishment of a British representative in Peking through Tibetan mediation.³ In one sense, Cornwallis held a high card in his hand. If the British did not help, then it seemed that the Tibetans would have to turn to China. Any active intervention by the Chinese in such a crisis could only lead to an increase of Chinese control over Tibetan affairs and would surely damage the independent position of Tashilhumpo which had been built up in recent years on the foundations of the skill and patience of the 6th Panchen Lama.

But the reply of Cornwallis to the Tibetan appeal was sent too late to have any effect on Tibetan policy. By the time it reached Tashilhumpo the Tibetans had already come to terms with the Gurkhas. The only result of this response to the Tibetan call for assistance was, in all probability, to suggest to the authorities in Tashilhumpo that the friendship of the Company towards Tibet was not as disinterested as the professions of Bogle and Turner might have suggested.

In 1791 the Gurkhas once more invaded Tibet. Only part of the indemnity promised in 1789 had been paid and Lhasa, which was

¹ Home Miscellaneous, vol. 608, f. 33. Bengal Consultations of 6th Jan., 1789, and 9th March, 1789. Staunton, *Embassy*, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 217. Diskalkar, op. cit., pp. 367-369.

² A. Aspinall, *Cornwallis in Bengal*, Manchester, 1931, p. 178.

³ Perhaps because the balance of payments problem was already on the way to being solved, through the sale of Indian produce at Canton. See: M. Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China*, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 9-13.

the financial centre of Tibet, refused to provide the balance. Lhasa had watched with great suspicion the rise in influence and independence of Tashilhumpo, as is quite clear from Bogle's and Turner's narratives.¹ It must have appreciated that failure to pay the Gurkhas in full would inevitably result in a fresh invasion, which would provide an excuse for requesting Chinese intervention and the consequent squashing, once and for all, of the pretensions of Tashilhumpo. If this was the policy of Lhasa, it proved a complete success. The Gurkhas renewed their attack, and this time they advanced far into Tibet, capturing Tashilhumpo and Shigatse and plundering the monastery of the Panchen Lama. In early 1792, while the Gurkhas were withdrawing slowly to their own territory, loaded with their booty, a powerful Chinese army arrived in Tibet. The invading Gurkhas were decisively defeated and obliged to come to terms with the Chinese. They returned their loot and accepted the status of Chinese tributary with the obligation of sending a tribute mission to Peking once every five years. The Chinese took the opportunity afforded by their intervention to strengthen their control over Tibet, even to the extent of devising a method by which they could influence the process of incarnation whereby the Dalai Lamas were chosen. After 1792, until the end of the nineteenth century when the 13th Dalai Lama began his work of freeing Tibet from foreign control, an independent policy of the kind manifested by the 6th Panchen Lama became impossible. Tibet became, to all intents and purposes, an integral part of the Chinese Empire, as the British in Bengal were soon to realize.

British diplomacy during the second Tibeto-Nepalese war was no more successful than it had been during the first crisis of 1788-89. The British received letters from both the Gurkhas and the Tibetans and Chinese. The former sought British assistance and the latter, in an admonishing tone, requested British neutrality. British policy seems to have been to try to play off one side against the other. The mediation of the Company was offered to both sides while in secret the British seem to have hinted that they might give the Gurkhas armed assistance in return for a commercial treaty opening Nepal to British trade. The commercial treaty was duly signed in the spring of 1792; the Gurkhas, when they found that no help beyond Company mediation would be forthcoming, felt, naturally

¹ For example: Markham, *Narratives*, op. cit., p. 132. Turner, *Embassy*, op. cit., p. 364.

enough, that they had been tricked. In Tibet, on the other hand, there seems to have been a definite impression that the British had sent troops to help the Gurkhas against the Chinese and Tibetans. The Company gained the good will of neither side.

Cornwallis, in fact, was serious in his offer of the Company's mediation. In September, 1792, Colonel Kirkpatrick was sent up to Nepal for this purpose, but by the time he got there the war had long been over and the Gurkhas had come to terms with the Chinese. Kirkpatrick saw clearly that a change had taken place in the Himalayas which was adverse to British interests. In the first place, the trade between Bengal and Tibet was now dead, and the only hope for its revival lay through Nepal: British goods could perhaps be carried to Katmandu for onward transmission to Tibet in the hands of Nepalese traders.¹ That this hope was a forlorn one was soon apparent; after a decade of futile and frustrating attempts to open trade through Nepal by means of commercial treaties little liked and less honoured by the Gurkhas, and through the employment of native agents with access to the Nepalese capital, the British in 1804 decided to give up the attempt and dissolved all their treaties with Nepal.² In the second place, the Chinese intervention seemed to have changed Tibet from a possible help towards the improvement of Anglo-Chinese relations to a positive danger to the position of the British traders at Canton. As Kirkpatrick perceived in 1792, when the extent of the new Chinese control over Tibet was not yet clear, if "the Chinese were to establish themselves permanently in our neighbourhood, the border incidents always incident to such a situation, would be but too liable to disturb, more or less, the commercial relations subsisting between them and the East India Company in another part of Asia".³ Kirkpatrick argued that this was a matter of sufficient gravity to be included in the agenda of subjects which

¹ Kirkpatrick, *Nepaul*, op. cit., pp. 371-9.

² D. Wright, *History of Nepal*, Cambridge, 1877, p. 52.

C. U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, 24 vols. Calcutta, 1931. Vol. xiv, p. 45.

Home Miscellaneous. Vol. 608, f. 38. Consultations of 10th Nov., 1793, and 10th March, 1796.

The best known of the native agents was Abdul Kadir Khan. See: C. H. Philips (Ed.), *Correspondence of David Scott, etc.* Royal Hist. Soc. Camden, 3rd Series. Vol. lxxv. London, 1951, p. 57.

Despatches to Bengal, vol. 31. Bengal Political Despatch, 4th Oct., 1797.

³ Kirkpatrick, *Nepaul*, op. cit., p. 372.

Lord Macartney, in his impending embassy to Peking, should discuss with the Chinese Emperor.¹

Macartney's Embassy coincided with these events in Tibet, but no information about them from a British source reached the Ambassador until he arrived at Canton in December, 1793, on his way home, his mission completed. Thus Macartney was most surprised to hear from the Chinese, when he was on his way to meet the Emperor at Jehol, that they were very angry at the way in which the British had fought against them in the recent war in Nepal. As he noted in his diary, on 16th August, 1793, "I was very much startled with this intelligence, but instantly told them that the thing was impossible and that I could take it upon me to contradict it in the most decisive manner." He then thought that the story that the British had helped the Nepalese might have been "a mere feint or artifice to sift me, and to try to discover our force, or our vicinity to their frontiers", and he was reinforced in this conclusion a few days later, when the Chinese asked him whether "the English at Bengal would assist the Emperor against the rebels in those parts". Since Macartney had denied the first charge on the grounds, quite untrue, that the distance between British territory and the scene of the recent war in the Himalayas made British intervention on either side quite impossible, he could only consider this second question as a trick to test his sincerity, and he was forced to say that the British could give no assistance to the Chinese.² Macartney, however was soon obliged to admit that the Chinese at Peking genuinely believed that the British had opposed China in the recent war, perhaps because of the deliberate misrepresentations of Fu K'ang-an, the Chinese commander in Tibet, who, Macartney suggested, might have been insulted by some Englishman during his recent tenure of office as Viceroy at Canton, and was now getting his revenge. He had met the Chinese commander, just back from the wars, and found him to be most unfriendly despite every exertion of the Ambassador's charm.³

¹ Kirkpatrick, *Nepaul*, op. cit., p. 377.

² J. Barrow, *Some Account of the Public Life and a Selection of the Unpublished Writings of the Earl of Macartney*, 2 vols. London, 1807. Vol. ii, pp. 203-204.

³ Barrow, *Macartney*, op. cit., pp. 228, 267.

E. H. Pritchard. The Instructions of the East India Company to Lord Macartney on his Embassy to China and his reports to the Company, 1792-94. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1938, p. 499.

Macartney to Sir John Shore, 3rd Feb., 1794.

Macartney was convinced that this misunderstanding on the part of the Chinese as to the nature of the British role in the recent Himalayan crisis was a major factor behind the failure of his mission. Staunton, who accompanied Macartney and later wrote the standard account of the Embassy, thought it was a tragedy that the Cathcart Mission had not reached its destination, for then there would have been a British representative in Peking at the time of the opening of the Gurkha attack on Tibet. The Emperor, he argued, would in such a case have surely asked for British assistance in defending his Tibetan dependants, rather than have relied on his own forces who had not been too successful on the field of battle in recent years. From the giving of such help the British would have reaped valuable diplomatic benefits.¹ The misunderstanding, moreover, in conjunction with the great increase in Chinese power so close to the borders of British India might have serious consequences for the future unless it was explained away. As Staunton put it: "should an interference take place in future, on the part of His Imperial Majesty (of China), in the dissensions which frequently arise between the princes possessing the countries lying along the eastern limits of Hindostan, . . . there may be occasion for much mutual discussion between the British and Chinese Governments; and no slight precaution may be necessary on their parts to avoid being involved in the quarrels of their respective dependents or allies." This danger was present on the Assam frontier as well as in the Himalayas.²

Macartney felt that the need to clear up this misunderstanding justified another mission to Peking, not only because no improvement of Anglo-Chinese relations could result until the Chinese had been disabused of their suspicions of the nature of British policy in the Himalayas, but also because the existence of such suspicions created a dangerous situation on the very borders of the Company's possessions in India. Once Chinese doubts had been removed, moreover, the British might begin to derive some positive benefit from the recent chain of events in the Himalayas. The Chinese had learnt, Macartney was clearly implying in his letter to Sir John Shore of 3rd February, 1794, that the British possessed great strength in an area which lay virtually on the Chinese frontier.

¹ Staunton, *Macartney*, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 229-230.

² Staunton, *Macartney*, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 227-8.

"Our political situation in Bengal," he wrote, "may even contribute, with other motives, to procure for us the full extension, we desire, of our commerce throughout the Empire of China."¹

While a second Embassy was not immediately sent, as Macartney advised, the misunderstanding about the Tibeto-Nepalese war was considered of sufficient importance in London to lead, in 1795, to a correspondence with Peking, in which the British case was stated. In the following year, in a letter to King George III, the Emperor, Ch'ien Lung, indicated in a most patronizing manner that perhaps the British had not helped the Gurkhas after all. British mediation had been offered, but it came too late to have any effect on the course of the war, and no debt of gratitude was owed to the British on this account.²

¹ Pritchard, *Crucial Years*, op. cit., p. 360. Pritchard, Macartney, *JRAS*, 1938, op. cit., p. 499.

² E. H. Parker, *China Past and Present*, London, 1903, pp. 149-150. See also E. H. Parker, Letter from the Emperor of China to King George the Third. *Nineteenth Century*, vol. xv, July-Dec., 1896. E. H. Parker, Nepal and China, *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, vol. vii, 1899, p. 77. E. H. Parker, *China's Intercourse with Europe*, pp. 44-45. Morse, *Chronicles*, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 273-276. J. B. Eames, *The English in China*, London, 1909, pp. 129-130.

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9. R. 1177; k. R. h; i. R. 188; k. R. 1147.

$\gamma_0 \downarrow \gamma_1 \odot :) \dots \dots \dots \downarrow : H^7 Y Y H : | \partial N H N : \sqrt{3} : 33 : | \partial Y H 8.$

... .. $[D_{\alpha\beta}]$ | $\delta: \sqrt{3} \pi$

1(4H):fHY7:PIPI:DM:DBJ)↓:BXEH:SDJ)~. DH9.
Y:K...fz(LH):fE(Q):D(zK9:H)
 n.R.↓. (fz) > (↓)H > J
 :HDBfEH:↓J)J:PYDEO:J4Hf7:4DHYTY910.
 :ELP7E:PH[δ]:JH)KH:JHYLMYH:DBH:HPH
 :J9Q:DBz3I...xEH:3YI>Y4J:DEITQ
 o.R.)HY; p.R. DBzK(9). (1J)DY4Y:DBXEH
)KH:ITHY:Y4YD4H:BXHYHf3:JBJK:JDBHf:1EH11.
 :JWH:JHYLMYH:↓z3J4D:↓z3J4Y:JH
 :JBJ4JfY7:BXHYHf3:HPH:DJDH:DJDJ4z3
 HEP:fz4J[TY]...(f)z3J:Y))K(H:JHYQ):fz4J
 p.R.J; r.R.f; s.R.HHYH. (f)HfYELP7E:JHδ
 (:1J):JHYLB:(D)3fH9:JHJfD:3>H:JHYH:J4Hf12.
 :YK>D:DLδ:JHYQ:4Yz3J4J4Y:Jz3D()KH
JHYH:HPY...D[z34]>H:f)Y4Y↓
 t.R.fHY)H.YHfYf7:Λ

O. Supplementary Inscription.

fEPMQ:DBz.....2.	f. δEHfQ:JH....1.
D-δ:[fE].....4.	D-δ:D.....3.
..Λ:fEx:Yf.....6.	...HfQ:[f7].....5.
D:Jδ.....7.

THE ONGIN INSCRIPTION

BY GERARD CLAUSON
(PLATES V-VI)

THE ONGIN INSCRIPTION was discovered in 1891, the year I was born, in Outer Mongolia on the Manet mountains, near a tributary of the River Ongin, from which it takes its name, at a point a little north-east of 46° N., 102° E., that is about 100 miles south of the two great "Orkhon Inscriptions" and some 250 miles west-south-west of the inscription of Toñukuk.¹

The main inscription of O. is inscribed on the front and one side of a stone stele, running from the top downwards, starting on the right (as you face it) and continuing on the left side. There are eight long lines on the front and four on the side. There is a supplementary inscription of seven short horizontal lines, scratched rather than carved above the last four lines of the main inscription. The stone is badly weathered and parts of both inscriptions are lost beyond recall; these include the bottom third of lines 1 to 7 of the main inscription, much more of the corner lines, 8 and 9, a little of lines 10 and 11, rather more of line 12, and a good deal of the supplementary inscription.

Above the first eight lines of the main inscription on the face of the stele there is carved a *tamğa*, or tribal badge, which can best be described as the *tamğa* surmounting I., with what in English heraldry would be called a mark of difference. The *tamğa* on I. is the stylized silhouette of a mountain goat seen sideways; that on O. is the same with what looks like an inverted walking-stick with a curved handle lying vertically across the middle of the animal, with a similar but more complicated object in front of it. We do not know enough about eighth century *tamğas* to appreciate the exact significance of these differences, but clearly the two *tamğas* are not identical, and it seems legitimate to assume that the person commemorated in O. was a member of the same tribe as Kül Tégin but not of his immediate family.

¹ I quote the Memorial to Kül Tégin as "I.", that to Bilge Kağan as "II.", and the inscription of Toñukuk as "T.". The first two are quoted by side (E. = East, etc.) and line on the side, T. only by the line. In quoting them, I have used the text in H. N. Orkun's *Eski Türk Yazıtları*, Istanbul, 1936 ff., checked by reference to the published reproductions. The present inscription I refer to as "O.". I refer to Prof. V. V. Radloff as "R.", and I quote B. Atalay's translation of Mahmūd al-Kaṣṣārī's *Dīwānu'l-Luḡāti'l-Türk* as "Kaṣ.", followed by the volume (i, etc.) and page (1, etc.).

R. states that three inked squeezes in all were taken of the inscriptions. A reduced reproduction of one was published on plate 26 of R.'s *Atlas der Altertümer der Mongolei*, Pt. I, St. Petersburg, 1892. A printed text and translation of both inscriptions was published in R.'s *Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, St. Petersburg, 1895, pp. 243 ff. A reproduction of a second squeeze, reduced to a slightly different scale and partly out of focus (?), was published on plate 83 of Pt. III of the *Atlas*, 1896. This is accompanied by a reproduction of a "retouched squeeze", that is a fair copy of the squeeze with nearly every letter drawn in. It appears that this drawing, though published later, was in fact made before the printed text, since R. says that he spent months over the three squeezes before he finally completed his text and translation, and ventured the opinion that any future reconsideration of O. would probably lead to a less complete rather than a fuller text. Thus the drawing, which differs to some extent from the printed text, seems to represent an intermediate stage in R.'s thinking.

There are, therefore, four and only four original authorities for the text, two primary ones, the reproductions of the two squeezes, which supplement one another, since letters which can be read on one are illegible on the other, and vice versa, and two secondary ones, the drawing and the printed text.

All these were produced over sixty years ago, when the study of "runic" texts was still in its infancy, erroneous views still prevailed on various points of grammar and orthography of the language used in them, and much knowledge which we have gained from the study of the Uyğur texts and Kaş. was not yet available. Since then no original work has been done on the actual text of O. Indeed, Turcologists seem to have been completely inhibited by R.'s remarks quoted above from attempting to republish it. R. himself returned to the question of the date of the inscription in pp. viii-x of the Preface to the *Zweite Folge* (1899) of his *Alttürkischen Inschriften*. Vilhelm Thomsen in his excursus on *erinc* in Turcica (*Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, xxxvii, Helsingfors, 1916), p. 39, reproduced one short passage, corrected one obvious error, and added that apart from this he had no alternative but to accept R.'s text. Paul Pelliot in a footnote to the study of the 12-year animal cycle, which forms one of his "Nine Notes on Central Asiatic Questions" (*T'oung Pao*, 2nd Series, xxvi, 1929), made

a new suggestion for the date of the inscription. L. K. Katona on p. 414 of the *Körosi Csoma Archiv*, i, 5, Hannover, 1925, made some suggestions, mostly sound, for improving the translation of line 11. Marquart in *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 3-4, p. 83, proposed a probably erroneous identification of the *kağan* mentioned in line 1. H. N. Orkun republished R.'s text with a slightly improved translation in Turkish in his *Eski Türk Yazıtları*, vol. i, stating that he followed Thomsen's example of not revising the original "runic" text. Finally, A. N. Bernshtam in his *Sotsialno-Ekonomicheskii Srooy Orkhono-Yeniseiskikh Tyurok VI-VIII, Vekov*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1946, devoted a page and a half (pp. 38-9) to the inscription but equally refrained from revising the text, remarking quite truly that R.'s edition gave more than could be seen on the reproductions of the squeezes. This, so far as I can discover, is an exhaustive catalogue of the references to O. in learned works.

One unfortunate consequence of all this scholarly reticence is that O. still seems to enjoy, at any rate in some quarters, the wholly undeserved reputation of being the earliest-dated Turkish text. As Pelliot (op. cit.) pointed out, it got this reputation in the most ludicrous fashion. R.'s original reasoning can best be stated as follows: (1) a memorial as stately as this cannot have commemorated anyone less distinguished than a *kağan*; (2) the inscription says that the man commemorated died in a Dragon Year (of the 12-year cycle); (3) the refounder of the Northern Türkü Dynasty, Éltériş¹ or Kutluğ Kağan died in a Dragon Year; (4) no other early *kağan* is known to have died in a Dragon Year; therefore this is the memorial of Éltériş; therefore it is the oldest dated Turkish inscription.

By 1899, when he wrote the Preface to his *Zweite Folge*, R. had realized that this reasoning was wrong, but his remarks were so effectually concealed in a Preface mainly devoted to remarks

¹ The exact pronunciation of this name is still uncertain. In I., II., and T., it is spelt $\text{il}^{\text{t}}\text{r}^{\text{s}}\text{s}^{\text{2}}$, in O. $\text{I}^{\text{t}}\text{r}^{\text{s}}\text{s}^{\text{2}}$. In the Chinese transcriptions recorded by Hirth in his article *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk* in R.'s *Zweite Folge* (see above), pp. 53 and 108, it is spelt (in Karlgren's reconstruction of "Ancient Chinese") *γiet*, *d'jet*, *lji* (or *i*), *śiğ*. The first character, *γiet* is habitually used to transcribe the Turkish word *öl* "realm", and I feel reasonably sure that the pronunciation was Éltériş. It may be, therefore, that, unlike most early Turkish personal names, it had a "meaning", something like "a gathering together of the realm". If so, it seems probable that this was not his original personal name, but one assumed when he refounded the Northern Türkü Dynasty in A.D. 682.

on T., that A. N. Bernshtam overlooked both them and Pelliot's remarks on the same subject, and still persisted, in the teeth of the internal evidence which had convinced R., in describing O. as the memorial to Éltériş and the oldest dated Turkish inscription; indeed he went further and found an author for it in the latter's younger brother and successor, Mo. cho (*Bügü Çor) Kağan, alias Kapğan, and an occasion for it in the need to publish a counterblast, a sort of "agitational publication" (op. cit., p. 33), to T. But as he still believed that Éltériş died in A.D. 693 (and not, as Pelliot showed, A.D. 691), he felt compelled to shift the date to A.D. 704, unfortunately forgetting that this would completely undermine the theory that O. was a counterblast to T., since R. had shown convincingly in *Zweite Folge*, Preface p. v., that T. must have been composed in A.D. 716.

It is very unfortunate that our Russian colleagues, who alone have, presumably, access to the squeezes, and indeed to the original monument if it still survives, should have contented themselves with commentary on R.'s version of the text, instead of revising it in the light of the additional knowledge which has accumulated in the last sixty years. It is unlikely that a completely satisfactory text can be produced without access to the originals; but even with the published material which is available considerable improvements can be made. Perhaps if someone like myself tries his hand at it, Russian scholars better qualified than me may feel moved to improve on my performance.

Obviously the first step must be to produce a new edition of the "runic" text. Plates I and II show what I believe, after a careful study of the two squeezes, to be an accurate reproduction of such parts of it as can be read thereon. I have added in (round brackets) letters included in R.'s text which are *prima facie* probable, but cannot be read on the squeezes. Letters in [square brackets] are letters which are not clearly visible on the squeezes but are in my opinion more probable than those supplied by R. All such passages are discussed in the notes attached.

The "runic" alphabet was mainly derived from the Aramaic, through one or more Iranian intermediaries, and retained most of the spelling conventions peculiar to that alphabet. These included such things as leaving short vowels unwritten and using the letters *beth*, *daleth*, and *pe* (and perhaps others) for two purposes, that is to represent both *b* and *v*, *d* and *ḡ*, and *p* and *f* respectively. It

departed from Aramaic, however, in some respects. In Aramaic *yod* is used both for *y* and for long *i*; in "runic" there are different letters for these sounds. In Aramaic *aleph* is used for any short initial vowel and for long *a* elsewhere; in "runic" it is used for long *a* or *e* in any position, initial short *a* and *e* are not written and the same vowel letters are used for *i/i*, *o/u*, and *ö/ü* respectively as initials, long or short, and as long vowels elsewhere. As R. pointed out in 1895, the spelling of *O*. is rather shaky in some respects; in particular some consonants appropriate for use only with front vowels, which when necessary I mark with a raised ², are sometimes, and in the case of *s*² nearly always, used in the place of consonants appropriate for use only with back vowels, which I mark when necessary with a small raised,¹ but not vice versa; initial *i/i* is sometimes omitted in the same way as initial *a/e*; and medial long vowels are sometimes omitted. This is not, as R. suggested, necessarily a sign of great antiquity; there have been bad spellers at all periods. My method of transcription in the transcribed text is as follows. All vowels written in the text, except initial *i*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ö* and *ü*, are shown as long by an attached colon; short vowels are supplied as required, initial *i/i*, when not written, being marked with a *. The ligatures *l¹d¹/l¹t¹*, *n¹d¹/n¹t¹*, *ik/ku*, *uk/ku* and *ük/kü* are transcribed as the context requires. The colon-like signs used in the original text to separate words or groups of words are represented, when visible or reasonably to be inferred, by commas. In this connection one point requires special mention. Groups of words between colons seem to have been regarded as a single unit for spelling purposes, so that a short vowel at the end of the first word of such a group could be treated as a medial short vowel and left unwritten. Actually it seems probable that, unless some of the final vowels which are written and so are transcribed as long vowels were in fact short, very few eighth-century Türkü words ended in short vowels, but the name *Tü:rkü* apparently did. In I., II., and the inscriptions at Ikhe Khoshotu and Shine-usu the word is invariably spelt *Tü:rkü* with the ligature for *kü*; in T. up to line 20 the word occurs only as the first of a pair of words between colons and is spelt with a *k*; but at that point Toñukuk must have realized that this was wrong and in the rest of the inscription it is spelt with the ligature *kü*. In O., too, the word is spelt with a *k*, but only as the first of a pair of words between colons; accordingly I have transcribed it as *Tü:rkü*.

1. eçü:miz, apa:mız, Yamı:, Kağan, tö:rt, bu:luquğ, etmiş, yağmış, (y)aymış, basmış, ol kan yo:k, bo:ltukda:, kisre: (, el,) yi:tmış, içğünmiş, k¹ . . . r². [10 to 14 words missing].
2. kağanladuk, kağanığ, içğını:, idmiş, Tü:rkü bo:đun, öpre:, kü:n, toğsıka:., kisre:, kü:n, batsıka:., tegi:, beriye:, tavğaçka:., yı:raya:, yı:ş(ka:, tegi:) [10 to 14 words missing].
3. alp, eren, balbal, kısıd:, Tü:rkü bo:đun, atı: yo:k, bo:lu:, barmış erti:, Tü:rkü bo:đun, (yit)mezün, teyin, yo:luk ermezün, teyin, üze:, teñri:, (ter ermiş) [10 to 14 words missing].
4. Kapğan, Êltériş Kağan, elige:, kılındım, El etmiş, yavğu:, oğlu:, *İşvara:, tamğan, ço:r, yavğu:, inisi:, Bilge:, *İşvara: tamğan, tarkan, aymağlığ, [. . el] etmiş, [atım, t¹ (?) 10 to 14 words missing].
5. ba[sa:], tavğaç(d)a:, yı:raya:, T¹g² Oğuz, ara:, yeti: eren, yağı:, bo:lmuş, kañım, [. . .] Tenriken, *iyin, anda:, yo:rımış, işig kü:çin, (bermiş erti:.) [10 to 14 words missing].
6. Tenrikenke:, işig, bertin, teyin, yarlıkamış, şad, atığ, anda:, bermiş, bo:ltukda:, to:kuz, Oğuz, T¹g², yağı: ermiş, (be)đük, ermiş, (Tenriken), y(o:rımış) [10 to 14 words missing].
7. yavuz, bat bi:z, aziğ üküşüg, kö:rtig, er[sig]ti:, sü:le[li]m, ter ermiş, m[en] (be)glerime:, ter ermiş, biz, az biz, teyin, yo: [10 to 14 words missing].
8. kañım, şad, ança:, ötünmiş, Tenriken, al(mazun, teyin) [4 or 5 words missing] (bo:đu)n, anda:, [kut] ermezke: t¹s² [o¹]¹ or ık 10 to 14 words missing].
9. k¹m., balıka:, tegdim, ko:nuldım, aldım, sü:si:, kelti:, (kara)si(n, yığdı)m, (be)gi:, (kaç)dı:, . . . ğ, er(ti:, tavğaç bo:đun) [about 5 words missing] (yığdı)m, basdım, yaydım) [about 5 words missing] bo:z(k)u:(nça:)
10. kelir ertimiz, eki:n ara:, T¹g² yağı:, bo:lmuş, tegmeçi: men, teyin, sakındım, teñri: Bilge:, Kağanka:, [ta]kı:, *işig, kü:çig, bersegim, bar ermiş, erinç, tegd(ükin) [3 or 4 words missing] sançdım, evke:, tegdükim, uruş kılıp,)
11. tegip, inime:, oğluma: ança: ötledim, kañ yo:rip, Êltəriş Kağanka:, ađrılmađuk, yañılmađuk, teñri: Bilge:, Kağanda:, ađrılmađım, azmađım, teyin, ança:, ötledim, kertü: barığma:, bardı:, (Bilge:, *Ka)ğan(ıy, bo:đunı) [1 word] l²r²i, bardı:, ögen atka:, *işig, kü:çig, bert(i:),

12. üze:, tenri:, [ko:n], yı:lka:, yeti:ñç (ay), kü:çlög, (alp)
 ka(ğani)mda:, ađılı: bardınız, bi:lge:, ataçım, yo:ğın, ko:rığınm,
 ko:[rıdı]m, . . . leyü:, tenri: [8 to 10 words missing] ki:rür,
 er . . .

COMMENTARY

General Observations.—The only two lines even approximately complete are lines 10 and 11, which contain thirty to thirty-two words each; the approximate number of words missing in the other lines has been calculated on this basis. Even allowing for the large gaps, the first impression given by the inscription is one of utter incoherence. Line 12 makes it clear that the author of the inscription is erecting a memorial to his father (ataçım “my dear father”); it is “my father” (kañım) whose exploits are related in lines 5 and 8, and so presumably the lines between; but the beginning of line 4 is an autobiographical statement presumably about the author himself, and lines 9 to 11, with the retrospective reference to “father” (kañ) in line 11, must be an account of his own exploits.

It seems to me that there is a fairly simple explanation of this apparent schizophrenia. No one in his senses could have produced anything quite like this as an original composition, but if the author, when he decided to erect a memorial to his father, had cast about for a model and decided to follow both I. and T., with the limitation that, for physical reasons or considerations of “protocol”, he had to pack everything he wanted to say into twelve lines, compared to the seventy lines of I. and the sixty-two of T., this is the kind of memorial that he might have composed. The difference between the two models adequately explains the sudden changes of subject in the text. I. is a memorial to Kül Tégin, ostensibly composed by his elder brother Bilge Kağan, who purports to speak in the first person throughout; the references to “my father” in lines 5 and 8 are an exact counterpart of the references to “my younger brother” in I., and the historical review in lines 1 to 3 is patently a highly compressed summary or paraphrase of I.E., 1 to 11. T., on the other hand, is Toñukuk’s own autobiography written by himself; the opening words of line 4 are a direct “crib” from the opening words of T. 1, and there are many parallels in T. to “my” exploits and the advice which “I.” gave, as described in lines 9 to 11.

Detailed Observations. Line 1.—The first four words are a direct “crib” from the words in I. E., 1, *eḡū:miz apa:mız, Bu:mm Kağan, İstemi: Kağan* and we may perhaps legitimately wonder whether, without this model *Yamı:* would have been described both as an *eḡū:* and as an *apa:*. The name *Yamı:* is entirely unknown in any other Turkish text and no one has yet found any transcription of it in the Chinese authorities, which is odd, since there were very few Turks sufficiently important to be called *kağan* and their names are usually recorded in the Chinese authorities. This inevitably suggests that the word is a scribal error, either by the author or, more probably, by the stone-cutter. Marquart thought that it might be *Bu:mm* but it seems to me more likely that it was *İstemi*, spelt *s²t²mi*, (cf. the variant spellings of *Éltériş* in the footnote on p. 179); *s²t²* is not very unlike *y¹*, and *İstemi:* was one of the great heroes of *Türkü* history. *Etmış*; R. read *kısmış*; neither squeeze is very clear, but the letter looks more like *t²* than anything else, and *etmiş* “organized”, a word used several times in I. and II., is quite appropriate to the context. *K¹ . . . r²*; R. read *kaçışmış*, but the *r²* is reasonably clear and *kaçmış erti:* seems to me the likeliest reading.

Line 2.—I. E., 6 reads *illedük, ili:n, ıḡınu: ıḡmış, kağanladuk, kağanı:n, yi:türü:, ıḡmış*, “they let the realm which they had created collapse, and they drove away (or lost ?) the *kağan* whom they had made *kağan*.” By abbreviating the phrase and switching the verb and object, O. produces a very clumsy sentence. *Türkü bo:ḡun* means, of course, “the people subject to the *Türkü kağan*,” not “all Turkish-speaking people”. In the Shine-usu inscription commemorating the founder of the first Uyğur Dynasty (mid-eighth century) the *Türkü* are spoken of as his enemies.

Line 3.—*Yo:luk* does not seem to occur elsewhere but must be synonymous with *yoluḡ* translated *al-fidā* “sacrifice, victim” in *Kaş.*, iii, 13. The wording in I. E. 11 “may the *Türkü* people not perish, may they remain a people” is rather different from that used here.

Line 4.—*Kı:lm-* here has the same meaning as in I. E. 5, “thereafter, it seems, the younger brothers did not grow up (*kı:lmmaḡuk*) (to be men) like their elder brothers, and the sons did not grow up (to be men) like their fathers,” and in T. 1, the model for the phrase used here, *Bi:lge: To:ñukuk, ben özüm, Tavḡaç ilıḡe:, ki:lmdım*, “I myself, the wise *Toñukuk*, grew up for (i.e. as a subject of)

the realm of China." (Tamğan Çor) **Yavğu:**; R. read **yo:ğa:**, but this word is quite unknown elsewhere and **yavğu:**, which can be read equally well on the squeezes, which are not at all clear at this point, is entirely appropriate as the last component of a proper name. The latter part of this line is one of the major *crucis* of this text; R. read **yumğılığ beş yetmiş eçim atı:m** and translated it "my elder and younger relatives, sixty-five in all", which is clearly preposterous. **Y¹mğl¹ğ** must surely be **aymağlığ** "belonging to the **aymağ** ("tribal confederation" or the like) of (the person just mentioned); and after this another proper name must surely follow. The letters **t²ms²** are reasonably clear and the preceding letter might well be **l²**; this makes **El-etmiş**, a proper name already recorded earlier in the line; very little can be made of the preceding word which R. read **beş**, but it might be a short component of a proper name, and **Alp** occurs to me as possible. In the word read **eçim** by R., the first letter is almost certainly not **ç**, but might be **t¹**, making **atım**, so that the phrase would run, quite appropriately after the opening words, "my name is (Alp?) El-etmiş of the **aymağ** of," etc. R. read the following word **t¹ım**, the **t¹** is vaguely visible on the squeezes, but nothing thereafter. If we could read **t¹çm**, (i and ç are not unlike), the sentence would go on, "my dear father" (did, or was, so and so), which would lead naturally on to the events recorded in the next line.

Line 5.—**Ba[sa:]**; the stone is split here; the **b¹** is quite clear; R. read **bu:** "this," which is quite inappropriate; **basa:** "then" is the right length and fits the context. **T¹g²** occurs here and in lines 6 and 10, and, as far as I know, nowhere else. It is just possible that the first letter used on all three occasions in this word but not elsewhere (see Plate I), which is not exactly identical with the **t¹** used elsewhere, should be read in some other way, perhaps as some kind of ligature with a front vowel; but pending further clarification it seems better to retain **t¹**. The word is obviously the name of a tribe; the reading (**tağ, tiğ, atağ, atiğ**) is quite uncertain; perhaps **Atiğ** is the likeliest. **Tenriken**, as its occurrences elsewhere (chiefly in Uyğur) show, is a descriptive title rather than a proper name; "His Sacred Majesty" is probably the closest equivalent. The word before it is really illegible; the first letter is most like the ligature **n¹d¹**, suggesting a word beginning **and**, but hardly **anda:** which follows almost immediately afterwards. As it is clear from line 11 that "His Sacred Majesty" here is **Éltériş**, R.'s reading

Bağa: Tenriken as a proper name is clearly impossible, apart from the fact that it does not fit the traces of letters on the squeezes.

Line 6.—**Şad** is an Iranian word, etymologically identical with “Shah”, which was used by the Türkü as the title of an office, not a hereditary distinction; the nearest modern equivalent is probably “Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief”.

Line 7.—**B¹t¹** is clear, but the pronunciation uncertain. *Kaş.*, i, 319, lists a word **bat** meaning *al-tacīr* “the residue of pressed dates”, and that word may be used here metaphorically for “rubbish, débris”, or the like. After **kō:rtig** there seems to be an **r²**, then **t²i**. R.’s reading **irti:** is meaningless and cannot be right. Tentatively I suggest **er[sig]ti:**; this adverbial form of **ersig** “brave” is not actually recorded, but is morphologically probable in Türkü; there are two or three similar adverbs in the *Irk Bitig*. **Sü:le[lī]m** seems preferable to R.’s reading **sü:letim** which is grammatically incorrect (for **sü:ledim**) and does not suit the context as well. **M[en]**; the **m** is clear, but the rest very doubtful; R. read **amtı:**, “now,” which hardly suits the context; a change of subject seems to be required, and **men**, “I,” does suit the context. **Yo:** . . . ; R. read **ko:r** and expanded it to **ko:rkmiş**, “he was afraid”; this is certainly wrong; the first letter is clearly **y¹** and the word must be something like **yo:rımış**.

Line 8.—There is nothing to be made of this after the first five words, but I have made one or two minor alterations, which seem closer than R.’s text to what can be seen on the squeezes.

Line 9.—**K¹m.**; R. read **kamuk**, translated “many”; this is unlikely for two reasons; first “many”, or rather “all”, is **kamağ**, not **kamuk**, in Türkü, and the third letter is certainly not **ğ**, and looks more like **l¹** than **uk**; secondly “all” does not make good sense here. It seems likely that the word is a place-name, but I cannot suggest one; the **k¹** is reasonably clear; the second letter is probably **m**, but might be **d¹**; the third is a thin one, probably **l¹**, **s²**, **i:** or **a:**. Most of the rest of the line is quite illegible on the squeezes, and I have reproduced R.’s text for what it is worth, which cannot be much, since even the retouched squeeze shows nothing after **kaçdı:** except the last word, which is fairly clearly **bo:zku:nça:** or perhaps, better still **bo:zku: ança:**.

Line 10.—**Takı:** seems quite clear on the squeezes; R. read **sakınu:** which makes no sense here. **Bersegim** is a typical Türkü desiderative noun of action, “my wish to give”; such forms were

not properly understood before the rediscovery of Kaş. *Sançdım* seems to me quite clear on the squeezes; R. read (y²)ığdım, which is improbable.

Line 11.—*Kaṇ yo:rip* is quite clear on the squeezes; R., being under the impression that *aḍrılmaḍuk* was the 1st Pers. Plur. of the Perfect, which is *aḍrılmaḍımız* in Türkü, read *kalyu:rip*, which is morphologically impossible, and invented a meaning "being angry" for it. The last four words of the line are quite clear on the squeeze; the word before looks like *ögen* and can hardly be *ölgen* "dying" as R. read it. *Ögen* can hardly be "thinking", from *ö:-*; it could perhaps be *ög(g)en* "praising" from *ög-*. *At* cannot here be "horse" as R. translated it, but "to give one's services to a name" is a very curious expression.

Line 12.—R. read *üze:, teṇri:, kan, lü:i: yılkā:*, "the Kan of heaven is above. In the Dragon Year." This is impossible for several reasons. *Kan* is an inappropriately humble title in this context; two consecutive vowel sounds never occur in Türkü; "dragon" in Türkü must have been *lu:* not *lū:* and certainly not *lū:i:*; and the reading does not agree with the traces on the squeezes. *Üze:, teṇri:* "Heaven is above" seems to be an echo of I. E., 1, *üze:, kö:k, teṇri:*. The next letter is pretty clearly *k¹* and the next more like *o:* than *n¹*; what follows is obscure, but might well be *ñ*, a rare letter, which greatly puzzled R. till it was finally fixed by the name *To:ñukuk* in T., which was not discovered till 1897. I have no reasonable doubt that the phrase is *ko:ñ yı:lka:* "in the Sheep Year". *Ataçım*; R. read *Taçam*, which he tentatively described as a proper name, a theory widely accepted later; but it is surely *ataç* with the 1st Pers. Sing. possessive suffix. *Ataç* is an affectionate diminutive of *ata:* "father", recorded in *Kaş.* i, 55, in the phrase *ataç oğul* "a boy who acts like an old man, as if he was the father of the tribe". *Yo:ğın, ko:riğını:, k[o:riḍı]m*; R. read *yu:ğın alu:r ağınm kazğandım*, translated "I have become rich by your bounty which I received at your funeral ceremonies", which is quite impossible grammatically and as a matter of sense. *Yo:ğın* "your funeral ceremonies" is obvious. The next word is certainly *ko:riğını:*; *Kaş.* i, 375, translates *korığ* as "something reserved (*al-ḥimā*) for amirs and others", adding that any enclosed (*maḥūz*) place is called *korığ*; obviously here it means "a plot of ground set apart as a grave"; the verb which follows is uncertain; it might be *ko:riḍım* in some such sense as "I set apart" (your

grave plot), but this is not entirely satisfactory and it might be something else, but hardly R.'s *kazğandım* "I gained". After this word R. read (su:)v, yer, *teñri*., but this does not agree with the traces on the squeezes or the ordinary Türkü phraseology, as for example in II. E., 35, *teñri*., *ıdık*, yer, su:v "heaven and the sacred land and water". In any event *leyü*., is quite clear before *teñri*: and very tentatively I suggest [*meni*]*leyü*: on the assumption that the phrase ran something like "rejoicing you have gone to the heavenly land", but this may be mere phantasy.

TRANSLATION

(Note.—In view of the large gaps in the text the translation is necessarily disjointed, but in some cases I have suggested in [square brackets] what may have been the gist of the missing passages. Words in (round brackets) merely explain, or expand the meaning of words actually in the text.)

1. Our ancestor Yamı: (? *İstemi*) Kağan organized, gathered together, distributed, and subjugated the four quarters (of the world). After that Kan had died, the realm went to ruin, collapsed and [disappeared. The Türkü people forgot their old allegiance].
 2. They let the Kağan whom they had made kağan collapse. The Türkü people [went on expeditions] eastwards to the sunrise, westwards as far as the sunset, southwards to China, and northwards to the mountain forests (i.e. the Siberian *taiga*) [in the service of foreign masters. Their enemies inflicted heavy losses on them; they killed] 3. their warriors, and thrust *balbals* (commemorating their slaughter) in the ground. The name Türkü was on the way to complete disappearance. Then, (it seems) Heaven on high said, "Let not the Türkü people go to ruin, let them not be victims. [It raised up *Éltériş*, and restored the Türkü realm.] 4. I grew up for (i.e. as a subject of) the realm of Kapğan and *Éltériş*. My name is [? Alp] El-etmiş of the tribal confederation of Bilge İşvara Tamğan Tarkan, the son of El-etmiş Yavğu and the younger brother of İşvara Tamğan Çor Yavğu. [My dear father (?) was one of *Éltériş* Kağan's first followers.] 5. Then to the north of China among the Atığ (?) and Oğuz seven men started hostilities (against us). My father . . . thereupon marched behind His Sacred Majesty and gave him his services. [The enemy were routed. The Kağan] 6. deigned to say "You have given your services to my Sacred Majesty" and there and then gave him the title of *şad*. Next the Tokuz Oğuz and Atığ (?) started hostilities (against us). They were (dangerously) powerful. His Sacred Majesty marched

[against them. The situation became critical. The Kağan said]
 7. "We are (no better than) worthless rubbish. You have seen
 (that we are) few (and our enemies) many. Let us attack [bravely ?]."
 I said to my begs "We are few [but let us march too". Some
 words of advice to the Kağan.] 8. This is what my father, the
şad, humbly submitted. His Sacred Majesty [. . . At this point
 there is a transition from "my father's" exploits to "mine".]
 9. I reached the city of K . . . settled there and took it. (The
 enemy's) army came; (I gathered together his common people, his
 begs fled . . . the Chinese people . . . I gathered together, sub-
 jugated and distributed . . .) 10. We were coming. Between the
 two the Atıg started hostilities (against us.) I thought "I shall not
 get through", but I had a wish to give my services to the sacred
 Bilge Kağan [and so I got through . . .] I transfixed [those who
 tried to stop me], on my way home, fighting, 11. and reaching
 (home) I advised my sons and younger brothers as follows, "Just
 as father marched and would not be parted from, or betray, *Éltérış*
 Kağan, so let us not be parted from the sacred Bilge Kağan or go
 astray." This is what I advised. Those that meant to go back
 went (back). (The people of) Bilge Kağan went [forward] and . . .
 gave their services to his name (?). 12. Heaven is above. You
 parted from my mighty (brave Kağan) in the seventh month of
 the Sheep Year and went away. My wise, dear Father (I celebrated)
 your funeral ceremonies and [set apart ?] your grave plot. [You
 rejoicing (?) [went to the] heavenly [land (?)] . . . entered.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY INSCRIPTION

Very little of this inscription is visible on either squeeze, the
 second in particular being out of focus (?) at this point. R. has
 restored nearly the whole of it, but the printed text and the
 "retouched squeeze" differ, in some places widely. They read as
 follows (with *ataçım* substituted for *Taçam*):—

"Retouched Squeeze"

1. *Ataçımka: bi:tig taşığ*
2. *đım, beñi:gü:*
3. *m, ataçım*
4. *bilge: ataçım lü:*
5. *y²ı:lka: bi:lge:*
6. *uluğ alp er edğü: k¹ . . .*
7. *ataçım, ölti:*

Printed Text

- (*Ataçım*)ka:, bi:tig, taşığ
 (Kı:l)đım beñi:gü:
 (kağan)ım ataçım
 bi:lge:, ataçım, lü:
 y¹ı:lka:, bilge:
 kü:lüg er edğü: k(an)
 ataçım, ölti:

What seems to be visible on one or both squeezes is:—

1.ka:, bi:tiḡ t¹ . . . ḡ
2.dım, beṇi:gü:
3.m, t¹ . . m
4.[g²ü:], t¹ . . m
5.[k²ü:], bi:t . . .
6.g²er, eḡgü: ɸ . . .
7.t¹¹.m (or n^{1d}) . . .

Bi:tiḡ taş “an inscription” and **beṇi:gü: taş** “a memorial” are familiar phrases; the first occurs in I. and both in II., more or less side by side; the two phrases are likely to be used here in co-ordination, and accordingly the missing words at the beginning of lines 2 and 3 are likely to be appropriate verbs, also used in co-ordination. R. may well be right in his restoration of the first line and I suggest that the beginning of the inscription was something like:—

1. [Ataçım]ka, bi:tiḡ taşıḡ,
2. [tokı:t]dım, beṇi:gü:
3. [taşıḡ, urd]ım,

“I have erected the inscription and placed (here) the memorial for my dear father.” This at any rate fits the space on the stone. The last word in line 3 and the last word in line 4 both look rather like **ataçım**, particularly the first. The letter before it in line 4 is almost certainly not **e**: and looks more like **ü**:; if R. is right in reading **bilge**: or **bi:lge**: (the variation in spelling is some measure of his uncertainty) the co-ordinatory form of expression may have continued with some such words as “my dear father was wise, my dear father was (some other adjective)”; but this is not much like the ordinary *Türkü* lapidary style and I doubt if it is right. There is no trace of **lū**: at the end of line 4 on either squeeze, and the first letters visible at the beginning of line 5 are almost certainly not **ka**:; they look more like **kū**: or **rū**:. If I am right in reading **ko:ñ yı:lka**: in line 12, then **lū: yı:lka**: cannot possibly have occurred here, and it is hard to resist the conclusion that R. read it, because he was expecting to find some such words here. It is perhaps significant that at one time he read **y²ı:lka**: and at another **y¹ı:lka**. The second word in line 5 almost certainly begins with **bi:t** . . . and this suggests that, as in I. and II., the “post-script” of the inscription mentioned the author of it. In line 6 **eḡgü**: is reasonably

clear; the letter after it is quite unlike **k**¹ but might well be **ç**. In line 7 **t**¹, **l**¹ (certainly not **ç**) and **m** are reasonably clear, but the last might be **n**¹**d**¹; a colon seems to separate the last two letters, but I cannot think of a word ending **t**¹**l**¹, so this is probably a flaw in the stone. There is no trace of **ölti**: on either squeeze, and it is not a probable word in this context; "to die" of persons commemorated in this way is **uç-**, **uça: bar-** or, as in line 12 of the main inscription, simply **bar-**; **öl-** seems to be reserved rather for undignified death and is used more for enemies, rebels, and the common folk. To sum up, no continuous sense can be made of more than the first two and a half lines of the supplementary inscription, and of that only tentatively, but R.'s reconstruction is certainly wrong, and the whole thing is likely to have been no more than a statement of the circumstances in which the memorial was erected.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

It will be seen that the translation which has emerged from this reconsideration of O. differs widely from R.'s. So far as the main inscription is concerned, the changes in the "runic" text are trivially small, as will be seen from the critical text in the Plates; but quite small corrections have served to produce a much more coherent text, and the identification of a few words like **basa:**, **berseg** and **ko:riğ**, which were unknown to R. in 1895, have made it possible to produce a much more plausible translation. Perhaps the largest single change, that of the latter half of line 4, has been achieved simply by altering the reading of four letters and considering what logically should have appeared at this point. Similarly the alteration in the date formula has been produced by very minor adjustments in the "runic" text. So far as the supplementary inscription is concerned, R.'s prophecy that any future edition of the text would be less complete than his has been abundantly fulfilled; the reason is, quite simply, that the readings which he suggested cannot be accepted.

Finally I come to the question regarding this inscription which has been most hotly debated, its date. As long ago as 1899 R. saw that it must have been composed during the reign of Bilge Kağan, that is not earlier than A.D. 716, the date of his accession, nor later than January, A.D. 735, the date of his death. These limits can

be greatly narrowed, if my contention is accepted that the author used I. as one of his models, since that was not erected till A.D. 732. This means that O. was composed between A.D. 732 and the end of A.D. 734. This fits the revised date formula in line 12 admirably, for A.D. 731 was a Sheep Year ; it makes the Dragon Year, which would have been A.D. 728, much less plausible.

The picture is now quite clear. The man whom O. commemorates died in A.D. 731, and his monument, as might have been expected, was erected very soon afterwards. Indeed it is perhaps not too imaginative to suggest that its author was one of the distinguished guests who attended the funeral of Kül Tégin described at the end of I., and that it was on this occasion that he saw the newly erected memorial and conceived the idea of composing a memorial for his own father, recently deceased, based on it and on the memorial on the grave of his father's most distinguished non-royal contemporary, "Wise" Toñukuk.

JOHN OF PLANO CARPINI'S RETURN
FROM THE MONGOLS
NEW LIGHT FROM A LUXEMBURG MANUSCRIPT

By DENIS SINOR

IN 1943, at the Bibliothèque Nationale, whilst browsing in the *Historiae Hungaricae Fontes Domestici* edited by M. Florianus, I came across a short notice,¹ No. 2 of *Adnotationes Historicae seculi XII et XIII*, entitled: "*Quos Bela rex Hungarorum, velut dominus papa, nuntios ad Thartaros direxit.*" An explanatory note states: "*Notitia . . . de electione novi imperatoris Tartarorum, et nuptiis Stephani Belae IV-i filii cum filia regis Cumanorum celebratis descripta ex codice Parisiensi Luxemb. fol. 22. sec. XIII-i, edita fuit in opere collectio cui nomen "Thesaurus historicus" Budapestini anno 1878.*" It took me some time to establish that the "*Thesaurus historicus*" mentioned here was in fact the Hungarian periodical *Történelmi Tár*. Fortunately I had no difficulty in finding the volume referred to by Florianus, and in it I saw reproduced the same Latin text accompanied by a note to the effect that the MS referred to contained also a version of Plano Carpini's *Historia Mongalorum*.² There was also a reference to the "*Zeitschrift für deutsche Literature, XVII*". I had been chasing this reference intermittently for years when, in 1951, Mlle. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, conservateur adjoint at the Bibliothèque Nationale, told me that Marczali's reference was wrong, and was to be corrected to "*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*"! There I found an article by W. Studemund, in which the note mentioned by Florianus and Marczali had been published, probably for the first time.³

I am also indebted to Mlle. d'Alverny for solving a problem yet more arduous, that of tracing the original of the cited text. It must be said that this manuscript was singularly unfortunate in its Hungarian commentators. Not only had Marczali misquoted the German periodical, and Florianus distorted the title of the

¹ Vol. iv, Budapest, 1885, pp. 88-89.

² Marczali, *Árpádkori emlékek külföldi könyvtárakban*, (*Történelmi Tár*, 1878), p. 376.

³ *Zu Johannes de Alta Silva De rege et septem sapientibus*, (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* xviii, N.F. vi, 1875, pp. 221-249).

Történelmi Társulat, but the latter with his "*ex codice Parisiensi*" suggested a further wrong track. In a letter dated 28th November, 1951, Mlle. d'Alverny informed me that the manuscript was in fact to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, and not in Paris. She also drew my attention to the *Supplément du Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Luxembourg*, edited by N. van Werveke, (Luxemburg, 1894) which—this was to be the last phase of my misfortunes—was not available at the University Library of Cambridge. In answer to my queries the Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Luxemburg offered me a copy of this book, and also sent me a microfilm of those pages of the MS that were likely to interest me. I have great pleasure in acknowledging, after so many years, his exceptional courtesy.

The manuscript in question—No. 110 according to van Werveke's Catalogue—contains on fol. 175–187 a version of Plano Carpini's *Historia*. This version, although known, as we have seen, to a number of historians, has, to the best of my knowledge, escaped the notice of scholars who have interested themselves in the journey of the great Franciscan traveller.

A comparison between Plano Carpini's text as edited by P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert,¹ and the Luxemburg MS gives the following results²:

27, 1; *Istoria Mongalorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus. Prologus.*

4; *gratiam*

11–12; *timeremus occidi . . . nimis*

28, 4; *saltem*

19–24; *Sed . . . infametur*

f. 175r, c. 1, 1; *Incipit prologus in hystoria tartharorum edita a fratre Johanne de pilatio carpini ordinis fratrum minoris sedis apostolicae nuntio in anno domini MCCXLVI.*

8; *gratia*

16; *nimiis*

23; *saltim*

c. 2 *omit*

8; *Explicit prologus. Incipiunt capitula sequentis operis.*

¹ *Sinica Franciscana*, I, Firenze 1929, pp. 3–130.

² The left column refers to Fr. Wyngaert's text, the right to the Luxemburg manuscript. Bold types indicate pages, figures in italics lines. The manuscript has two columns of 30 lines each on each folio. "c." refers to the columns.—Transpositions of nouns and adjectives, interjections such as *ut dicitur*, *etiam*, *autem*, etc. have, as a rule, not been recorded. As for the proper names occurring in the left-hand column, I did not take into account the variants given by Fr. Wyngaert. It may happen, and quite often does, that the form in which a given name occurs in the Luxemburg MS is already known through another manuscript and is indicated in Fr. Wyngaert's edition.

[Here follows a list of chapter headings, the same as in the printed version, but with slight verbal variations, up to Chapter VIII. This list goes down to line 27, when]:

Explicunt capitula,
Incipit hystoria.

29, 6-8; ultimo . . . invenerunt
9; proposuimus
11; ipsius
12; quidem
14; Kytaorum et etiam Solan-
gorum
16-17; Huiorum . . . Naimanorum
17; aquilone mari
30, 2; campestris
4; est . . . autem
6; homines
7; equorum
7; Terra etiam predicta non est
parte centesima
8; aquis
11; Caracoron
31, 5; enim
10; vix
14; minime
17-18; Unde . . . electus

32, Chapter heading.

15-17; nasum . . . elevatas
21; tondent
33, 10; quot
13; matre filia
15-17; uxorem etiam fratris alter
frater iunior post mortem ducere
potest vel alius de parentela iunior
ducere
24-34, 1; purpura vel baldakino
35, 10; cooperta
11; et quedam parve
13; sumarios
36, 5-6; auro et argento et serico
37, 1; sericis
4-9; quando . . . ipsius
9; hercium
22; comburant
38, 4; ducibus

f. 175v, c. 1, 5; omit
6; possumus
8; omit
11; vero
11; kytharoum et salangorum
13; huyrorum . . . naymanorum
14; aquilone et mari
16; capestris (scribal error)
18; omit
20; omnes
21; eoquorum or ecquorum
22; Terra etiam illa non est in
parte centesima
24; omit
27; Cracirant (?)
c. 2, 2; omit
8; omit
11; neminem
15; Unde anno gratie MCCXLVI
mense augusto quando fuit electus
cuyuccan filius occoday
f. 176r, c. 1, Chapter heading
omitted as all hence.

6; omit
10; tondet
23; quotquot
25; matre et filia
28; uxorem autem fratris alter
frater post mortem vel alius de
parentela iunior ducere
c. 2, 7; omit
f. 176v, c. 1, 7; operata
8; quedam sunt parve
10; somarios
20; auro argento serico
c. 2, 4-5; siriceis
7; omit
8; hyrcum
21; comburant
24; principibus vel ducibus

4; Bati	25; bathi
39, 4-5; adhuc quod intelleximus	f. 177r, c. 1, 13; cogunt
coegerunt	
6-9; excepto . . . inclinarent	14; <i>omit</i>
11; de Cherneglonge	15; dux cirniglone
13; alias	17; <i>omit</i>
17; mulieri	21; mulierem
20; eam	24; <i>omit</i>
20; ambo	25; <i>omit</i>
21; lecto	26; thoro
23; pariter commisceri	27; commisceri coactione non
	conditionali sed absoluta
40, 1; peccato	31; de peccato
14; incantatori	c. 2, 13; incantori
16-17; intrare nec de ipsa aliquid	15; intrare de ipsa et nichil ex-
reportare	portare
41, 9; incantationibus	32-33; incantationibus
11; respondetur	f. 177v, c. 1, 1; respondeatur
12; Itoga . . . Kam	2; ytoga . . . cam
15; ipsius	5; illius
21; quecumque	11; qualescunque
23; et	13; aut
42, 3; quod	16; quos
8; alienus terminos stationum	21-22; alienus alienius terminum
eius	stationum
10; de hiis	23; <i>omit</i>
14-15; sepelitur autem cum una	29; sepelitur eis cum statione
de stationibus suis sedendo	sedendo
20; altius	c. 2, 2; alicuius
22-43, 6; Et ossa . . . virgam	5; <i>omit</i>
16; foveam	11; <i>omit</i>
24; ne	22; ut non
24-26; Alia . . . campo	23; <i>omit</i>
44, 10; inscianter . . . eorum	f. 178r, c. 1, 1; nescianter . . . <i>omit</i>
20; alia	4; alii
21; ibi	13; ibidem
45, 13; nunquam	29; nequaquam
16; thesaurum seris	32; thesaurum cum seris
18; eas	c. 2, 2; esse
19; eosdem	4; easdem
46, 5; delicati invidiosi	12-13; deducato in iudicio
13; in ebrietate	19; inebrietate
18; Jerozlaum	24; iherozlaum
20; Georgianie	26; georgianye
47, 14; biberit	f. 178v, c. 1, 10; bibit
18; mali mores	15; malos mores
20-49, 16; Cibi . . . sive avem	16; <i>omit</i> (Inserted later)
17; habent	17; tenent
20; furto	20; furto manifesto
50, 5; unicuique	28; unicuique eorum

- 8; suam
9; et dormit
10; maior inter alias
16; magnum
24; bene
51, 2; omnia
5; mulieres
5; sagitant
- 48, 1; Kitaorum
7-8; Dicebant . . . bibunt
14; manus, quando
17; scindit
18; cum
21; ollam
22; coclearia
49, 2-3; Vestes suas . . . permit-
tunt
4; illud
5; maxima
9; quoque
12; comedunt
51, 8;
15; se ipsos
15-52, 1; a quodam fluvio . . .
Tartur nominatur
10; ducem
11-12; plures homines aggrega-
verat
53, 4; Naimani . . . Chingis
7; exsolvente
9; ab invicem
15; etiam Karakitai id est nigri
Kitai
54, 2; nos
5-6; non potuerunt in servitutum
redacti fuerunt
7; Occodaican
9; Omyl
55, 1; sed
2; lana camelorum
- 11; predicto exercitu fuerunt
occisi exceptis
12-17; Unde adhuc . . . non ter-
remur
20; Uyrorum
21; bellum
21; nestorianorum
56, 2; scripturam
- c. 2, 1; omit
2; omit
2; ex ipsis maios inter alias
9; maximum
15; omit
18; omnia opera
21; omit
21; (Passage transposed from
pp. 47-49)
25; kythaorum
f. 179r, c. 1, 1; omit
9; manus. Quando
10; incidit
13; omit
14; ollas
15; codearia
19; omit
- 20; id
21; magna
26; omit
29; manducant
c. 2, 4; (Return to Chapter V)
11; semetipsos
12; omit
- 20; imperatorem
22; homines aggregavit
28; naymani . . . chyngis
f. 179v, 1, 1; exsolvens
3; adinvicem
8-9; etiam carakythai
- 10; omit
13-14; potuerunt in servitutum
redacti
14-15; occoday can
16; omil
20; omit
21; pilis camelorum et de lana
eorum
30; prelio fuerunt occisi usque ad
- 30; omit
- c. 2, 3; huyrorum
4; prelium
4-5; nestorianorum erant
6; litteram

- 4; Sariemiur
 5; Kanana
 8; hominibus suis
 57, 2; argentum
 6-7; civitatis, et aperientes subito
 terram, eis nescientibus, prosilie-
 runt in medium eius et pugnaverunt
 8; eiusdem
 15; terre
 19; ut dicitur
 58, 9; auro et serico
 11; quievisset
 12; Tossuc
 13; misit cum
 15; est reversus
 59, 2; devicit
 8; homines cum foliis post
 ymagines cupreas
 13; predictis ymaginibus
 14-15; quod ex igne greco . . . et
 equi
 60, 9; in alie fluvii parte
 19-22; et de hoc . . . ibidem
 fuerunt
 23; videlicet Mongalorum
 24; Burithabet
 61, 1; mirabilem
 3-4; sicut . . . pro certo
 5; vidimus
 8; est reversus
 12-13; in ea . . . aplicuerunt
 62, 1-4; conclusi clamorem . . .
 minime
 5; ultra quam ire
 7-10; Illi . . . pretaxatam
 63, 6; Chingiscan
 6-12; videntes . . . necarentur
 12; fugerunt
 13; duxerunt
 17; ut superius . . . dictum est
 64, 3; manducari
 9; Cuyuccan
 13; subdatur
 15-17; Quadraginta . . . illa
 17; devinci
 65, 1; milia
 2-3; Multa etiam . . . ignoramus
 3; post hec
 7; sarroyur
 8; karanitharum . . . canana
 10; gentes supradictis
 20; *omit*
 25; in medio civitatis et pugna-
 verunt
 25; *omit*
 f. 180r, c. 1, 2; *omit*
 6; *omit*
 17; auro et argento et serico
 19; tarthari quievisset
 20; Tosuc
 21; misit chyngis cum
 23; revertibat
 25; deviceret
 c. 2, 1; hominem cum fole post
 ymaginem cupream
 6; predicta ymagine
 7; quod de fumo
 18; illa parte
 29; *omit*
 30; *omit*
 30; burtthabet
 f. 180v, c. 1, 1; admirabilem
 3; *omit*
 5; *omit*
 7; revertebatur
 11; *omit*
 13; iuxta inclusos quia fregerunt
 montes
 14; ad quam accedere
 14; *omit*
 c. 2, 3; *omit*
 3; *omit*
 3-4; fugam iniecit
 5; deduxerunt
 9; *omit*
 17; madi
 24; istius cuyuc can
 28; subiecta fuit
 30; *omit*
 30; occidi
 f. 181r, c. 1, 4; *omit*
 4; *omit*
 4; Hic autem cyngiscan illorum
 princeps ipse cum regnasset annis
 plurimis

7-9; Ab hiis . . . primus est

10; Cocten et Chirenen

66, 2-3; Siban, Bora, Berca, Thaube . . . ignoramus

3; Burim

6; Sorocan

9; Bichac

67, 2; Birin, Syban, Dinget

3; Chirpodan

3-5; Solidanos

5-6; Sirenen, Hubilai, Sirenum, Sinocur

6-7; Chuacenur, Caragai, Sibedei senex qui dicitur inter eos miles . . . Mauci Corrensa

68, 13-14; quod dent . . . veniunt

15; currus

69, 6; sciendum

70, 1; Biserminorum

4; Barchin . . . ei

9; Sakint

14; populosa

71, 5; Biserminorum

6; de illa civitate alii sarraceni

7; aliter

13; Kioviam

72, 2-7; Unde . . . servitute

73, 1; Byllos

74, 4; humanum

5; faciem

75, 3; in circulo

5-9; et . . . cum eo

16; soldani Alapie

17; optinent . . . impugnare

76, 1; idem

1; Calif de Baldac

2; quadringentos bisancios

5; et omni anno

77, 9-10; Et ut . . . occiduntur

14; ad minus omnes

19-20; Quidam loricas . . . equorum

79, 10-11; ponunt . . . ponunt quasi

10-13; Isti IIII filii cum aliis maioribus qui tunc erant primum filium videlicet occoday elegerunt ipsum et regnavit annis multis. filii isti occoday can sunt hy

14; centon et chirennen

17; Saban Bosuc can et si plures sunt nomina . . . nescimus

18; buryn

21; seroctan

23-24; byechyat

26; buryn cadan syban buyget

28; Cyrpodan

28-29; soldanum damasci

30; serenem hubylay syrenum synocur

c. 2, 1-2; tuathemmur caragay sybedey quidem miles inter eos . . . mouchy chorancha

17-19; quod dent subductios eis sine mora equos et expensas. Undecumque veniunt

20; omit

f. 181v, c. 1, 8; faciendum

29; bysinnorum

c. 2, 2; barchyn . . . eis

7; iakynt

13; copiosa

18; byserrminorum

19; de illa sarraceni

20; omit

25; kyovvyam

f. 182r, c. 1, omit

11; byleros

24; omit

25; faciem per omnia

c. 2, 13; rota

16; omit

23; soldani damasci

23-24; impugnant

25; Alius autem

25-26; caliphe baldacensis

26; iiii et xl byzantia

f. 182v, c. 1, ? omit

17; omit

21; audivimus. Omnes

28; quidam

f. 183r, c. 1, 7; ponunt

- 14; que duplicatur . . . utraque 10; *omit*
 parte
 80, 11; aliud c. 2, 3; aliquid
 14-16; Nichilominus . . . queren- 6; *omit*
 dum
 29; natat 19; natas
 81, 2; et talem 22; *omit*
 82, 2; multitudo magna f. 183v, c. 1, 17; multitudo
 4; captivorum 18; puni-
 12; ficticios 27; fictio
 19-20; Et cum iam . . . cum eis c. 2, 3; *omit*
 83, 6-7; Et si super . . . extingui 15; *omit*
 84, 17-18; de tyrannide quam f. 184r, c. 1, 13; *omit*
 exercent in eos quarto
 85, 23; bestiam appellant dorcori c. 2, 10; appellant dochori
 86, 9-10; nunciis eorum [qui a] 19-20; nuncius eorum commit-
 potioribus mittuntur ad ipsos tuntur
 12-13; ut alliciant alios permittunt 22; alliciunt quos dimittunt
 21; Solangorum f. 184v, c. 1, 1; salangorum
 87, 6; Tartarus nobilis 14; thartarorum
 16; filio 23; felio
 88, 1; consuetudinem c. 2, 4; legem
 15-90, 4; Kitay, Naymani, So- 19-30; kythai, naymani, salangy,
 langi Karakitai sive nigri Kitay, karakythai siue nigrikythay co-
 Comania, Cumae, —, Karanity, nana tumat — karanua — — —
 —, —, —, Mecriti, Sarihuiur, mecryty Saryhuyur, baskac — —
 Bascart, —, —, Khergis, Cosmir, kergys cosmyr — byssermyny
 —, Bisermini, Turcomani, —, —, turcummany (?) — corola tomyty
 Catora, Tomiti, Buritabet, Paros- burytobeth parolsithy, cassy — —
 siti, Cassi, — — Assi, — — assy — — — georgyanj — —
 Georgiani, — —, Kangit, —, cangit brichachi — — — morduy
 Brutachi — — —, Mordui, Torci, torcy gazary samoyegi — tacy
 Gazari, Samogedi, —, Tarci, India yndia — — — cyrcassi rutheny
 — — —, Circasi, Rutheni, Bal- baldac sarty
 dach, Sarti.
 92, 1-2; Dimittunt . . . autem f. 185r, c. 1, 22; etiam unicuique
 unicuique
 4; illis 25; illi
 6; cum uxoribus et filiis 26; *omit*
 7; famulis 27; familiis
 14; operari omnia c. 2, 4; operari oportet
 94, 1-2; Qui in lingua eorum f. 185v, c. 1, 8; Cuyuc enim pro-
 dicitur Chan prium nomen est can in lingua
 eorum imperator sonat
 5-7; nisi forsan . . . occidentis 30; *omit*
 24-25; exercitus c. 2, 1; *omit*
 25; famulis 2; familiis
 95, 2-4; assignatum . . . Ruscie 4-6; assignatum in marcio pre-
 terito anno gracie mcccxlvi se de
 terra sua moneri debuerunt

- 12; Imperator
 13; usque nunc
 15-16; Imperator proprio ore dixit
 96, 9; nisi Deus . . . ipsis
 25; ut Tartari
 97, 5; diximus
 11-12; sed debent exercitus videre et ordinare
 16; graviter
 20; adversariorum
 98, 26; libere
 99, 4; die noctuque facere exercitum
 14; ea
 18-19; videant prius
 100, 2; credimus
 2; obsederunt
 6; foveis profundis
 23; perpetuo
 25; diligunt satis
 101, 1; habenda
 8-15; Hec autem . . . possidebit
- 14-15; temporis anno videlicet domini occoday can imperator eorum
 15-16; per annos sex et amplius
 18-19; imperator eorum cuyuc can dixit ore suo proprio
 f. 186r, c. 1, 5; omit
 20; velut tarthari faciunt sua
 28; dixi
 c. 2, 5; omit
 8; gravissime
 12; contrariorum
 f. 186v, c. 1, 12; lebere
 20; facere exercitum die noctuque (lines 16-20 are damaged)
 c. 2, 1; illa
 4; prius videant
 16; credo
 17; obstinerunt
 19; profundis foveis (lines 22-29 are damaged)
 f. 187r, c. 1, 8; perpetua
 10; satis diligunt
 13; adhibenda
 20; omit
 Chapter VIII finishes at line 20, and the above-mentioned note beginning with *Quos Bela rex* . . . follows.
 This piece is better written than the preceding, but I cannot say whether it is a different hand.

As can be seen, the variants of the Luxemburg manuscript are, with one exception, of little consequence, and invite but few comments.

As the known versions of Plano Carpini's account are somewhat chary of dates, we must welcome those given by our MS on the *recto* and *verso* of f. 175. The date of Plano Carpini's mission is given here as 1246, although he left Lyons in 1245. This can be considered as a simple mistake, although it is conceivable that the date of his arrival among the Mongols was later taken as the actual date of this embassy. None of the other available manuscripts states, as does ours, that Güyük's enthronement took place in 1246—although this fact is well known, and can be inferred from the various versions of the account.

As far as the writing of proper names goes, the Luxemburg MS, instead of shedding new light on old problems, provides variants liable to cause further perplexity. Just a few words on these.

The name *Centon* (f. 181r, c. 1, 14) for one of Ögödei's sons has not so far been recorded in this form; but the new form does not help us to establish the exact identity of its bearer. According to the *Yüan-shi*,¹ Ögödei had seven sons, and not four as indicated by Plano Carpini; but neither *Centon* nor *Chirennen*, the name recorded by Carpini for one of his brothers, seem to tally with any of the names of Ögödei's sons as given in oriental sources. The *Carmen miserabile* of Roger, Canon of Várad,² mentions a certain *Coacton* as one of the Mongol generals taking part in the Hungarian campaign. In view of the other known variants, *Costen*, *Coctaei*, *Coithen*, I would not discard the possibility of this *Coacton* being the same person as the *Centon*, *Cocten*, etc. of Plano Carpini.

According to our manuscript (cf. f. 181r, c. 1, 26) the names of the six Mongol generals taking part in the Hungarian campaign were: *Ordu*, *Batu*, *Qadan*, *Seyban*, *Buryn* and *Buyget*. Only the last two are problematic.

It may be of some interest to mention, since this source is comparatively little known to students of Mongol history, that, according to Roger, the following Mongol generals took part in the campaign against Hungary: *Bathus*, *Bochetor*, *Cadan*, *Coacton*, *Feycan*, *Peta*, *Hermeus*, *Cheb*, *Ocadar*.—*Bathus* is obviously *Batu*, *Bochetor* a transcription of the Mongol title *bayatur*, *Cadan* needs no comment and we have already touched on *Coacton*. *Feycan* probably stands for *Seyban*. I know no explanation for the remaining names, which neither agree with those given by Plano Carpini, nor remind me of any other Mongol name. I regret not to be able to offer any solution.

It will be remembered that Plano Carpini's account of his actual travels is contained in a lengthy ninth chapter, which is altogether missing from the Luxemburg manuscript. Instead of it we find a short passage, which is lacking in all the other known Carpini manuscripts. This is the short note referred to above, and published by Studemund, Florianus, Marczali and N. van Werveke. As far

¹ Louis Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan che, avec des notes supplémentaires par Paul Pelliot*, Leiden, 1945, p. 71.

² *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* edited by E. Szentpétery, vol. ii, Budapest, 1938, p. 563.

as its content goes, this note does not belong to the body of Carpini's text; but it is quite clear that its unknown author considered the facts related therein to be relevant to Carpini's mission, and I think it is beyond reasonable doubt that the Frater Johannes mentioned in it is Plano Carpini himself. As the original Latin text is readily accessible, and I do not know of any translation, I prefer to give here an English version.

"In the year of our Lord's incarnation 1246, Béla, king of Hungary was listening to the messengers of the Lord Pope, who were explaining fully to him the life and habits of the Tartars, as is said above, when of a sudden he saw entering his hall the very messengers whom he had sent to those same Tartars to investigate their actions and their secrets; and their report agreed throughout with what Brother John had told the King, to this effect:

At the time when the Tartars, called by many the hammer of God, had subdued Poland and Hungary, their Emperor Occoday Khan was evilly poisoned in his own territory by his sister, for she had a son, and she wanted him to reign. And for this reason, they were summoned to return to their own regions, and thus they remained without an Emperor for about ten years. When this period came to an end, and when the election-day was fixed, all their princes and magnates met to elect an Emperor, who was called Cuyuc Khan, and when they wanted to enthrone him on the eighth of August, a hail mingled with rain fell in such profusion that from the sudden downpour ten of the Tartars, with a mass of their herds, fell dead, and so they put off his enthroning to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. And after he was enthroned on the aforesaid day, his standard was raised and an expedition was proclaimed for nineteen years against the Western nations. The warriors were chosen thus, that out of every ten men, three of the strongest had to go with their wives, their children and their flocks, and all their substance. King Béla, however, concerned by rumours of this, and thoroughly alarmed, gave his son, already elected as king, to the daughter of the Roman¹ kings, and the nuptials were recently celebrated in Hungary. And during this wedding-feast, ten of the Romans met and swore over a dog divided by a sword, as is their custom, that they would hold the land of the Hungarians, as men faithful to the king, against the Tartars and barbarous nations."

¹ *Roman* stands for *Coman*. A not unusual variant.

This note deserves comment from more than one point of view.

Before tackling the gist of the matter, it may be worth mentioning that the Coman custom of swearing over the body of a dog cut to pieces is described also by Joinville, who had taken his information from Philippe de Toucy: "Then they (the Comans) caused a dog to pass between their people and our people, and cut the dog in pieces with their swords, our people doing the same; and they said that whoso failed the other in this alliance on either side should thus be cut to pieces."¹ According to a letter written in 900 by Theotmar, archbishop of Salzburg, to Pope John IX, an alliance between Hungarians and Bavarians was sealed by a similar ceremony. The same custom was followed also at the conclusion of a treaty between the emperor Leo V, the Armenian, and the Bulgarians.²

The Note appended to Plano Carpini's text can also serve to elucidate the itinerary he followed on his return journey.

Carpini and his companions reached Kiew on the 9th June and stayed there for "quite eight days". Carpini's description of his journey ends with his experiences in Kiew, and we must turn to his companion, Benedict the Pole, for some further information, scanty though this is, for all that he says is that "The friars continued on their journey westward and after passing the Rhine at Cologne, returned to the Lord Pope in Lyons, and presented to him the letters of the Emperor of the Tartars".³ We know that Carpini was at Cologne on the 3rd October, 1247, and that he reached Lyons in the first days of November.⁴ We do not know the exact date of his arrival in Cologne but it is clear that between his leaving Kiew (on about the 17th June) and his only recorded date in Cologne (3rd October), there was sufficient time for him to pay a

¹ Translation by Sir Frank Marzials, (Everyman's Library No. 333, p. 260); cf. also Denis Sinor, *Quelques passages relatifs aux Comans, tirés des chroniques françaises de l'époque des Croisades*, (Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo, Kyoto University, 1954, pp. 370-375).

² Cf. Gyula Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története Szent Istvánig*, Budapest, 1900, pp. 36 and 155. The text of Theotmar's letter, in the edition available to me (Pauler-Szilágyi, *A magyar honfoglalás kútfeje*, Budapest, 1901, p. 326), does not expressly state that the dog was cut to pieces. I was unable to check Pauler's reference to the Byzantine-Bulgarian treaty.

³ William Woodville Rockhill, *The Journey of William of Rubruck . . . with two Accounts of the Earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine*, London, 1900, p. 39.

⁴ Cf. Paul Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, II, (*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* xxiv), p. 69 of the off-print.

visit to the King of Hungary. That he availed himself of this opportunity seems to me clear from the evidence of the Luxemburg manuscript.

The exact date of this visit is something of a puzzle. "1246" is probably a simple mistake and must be adjusted to "1247". As the same manuscript puts Carpini's journey erroneously into the same year of 1246, the emendation proposed is certainly not a daring one. The note contains another indication of time which, as far as Plano Carpini's visit is concerned, can be considered as a *terminus ante quem*: the marriage of Béla's son Stephen (later Stephen V, King of Hungary) with a Coman princess. Unfortunately there seems to be considerable doubt concerning the date of this event, which Hungarian historians usually put between 1252 and 1254.

In a letter written by Béla IV to the Pope, dated 10th November, 1254,¹ the king of Hungary explains, among other things, the reasons that had prompted him to arrange this marriage:²

"We, in fact, returning to what is in our power, and humbling our royal majesty for the good of Christianity, have given two of our daughters in marriage to Ruthenian chiefs, and the third to a Polish chief, so that through them and others of our friends, we might have news of Tartar affairs, which are kept very dark; that in this way we might be able the more fitly to combat their ventures and any of their treacherous schemes. We have also received into our kingdom Cumans, and alas! to-day we defend our realm by means of Pagans, and by means of Pagans we trample underfoot the enemies of the Church. Further, in defence of the Christian faith, we have joined our first-born son in marriage to a certain Cuman woman, so that through this we should avoid something worse and should find an opportunity to ask them to come to be baptized, as we have already done it with several."

According to Gyárfás³ the marriage took place in 1246. The only reference quoted by the author in support of this assertion is the Luxemburg MS.

¹ This date is given by Marczali in *A magyar nemzet története*, edited by Szilágyi, vol. ii, Budapest, 1896, p. 513. He gives as his source Gy. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus et civilis*, iv, 2, p. 221, which work is not at present available to me.

² Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historiae Hungariae sacrae illustrantia*, I, Roma, 1859, p. 231.

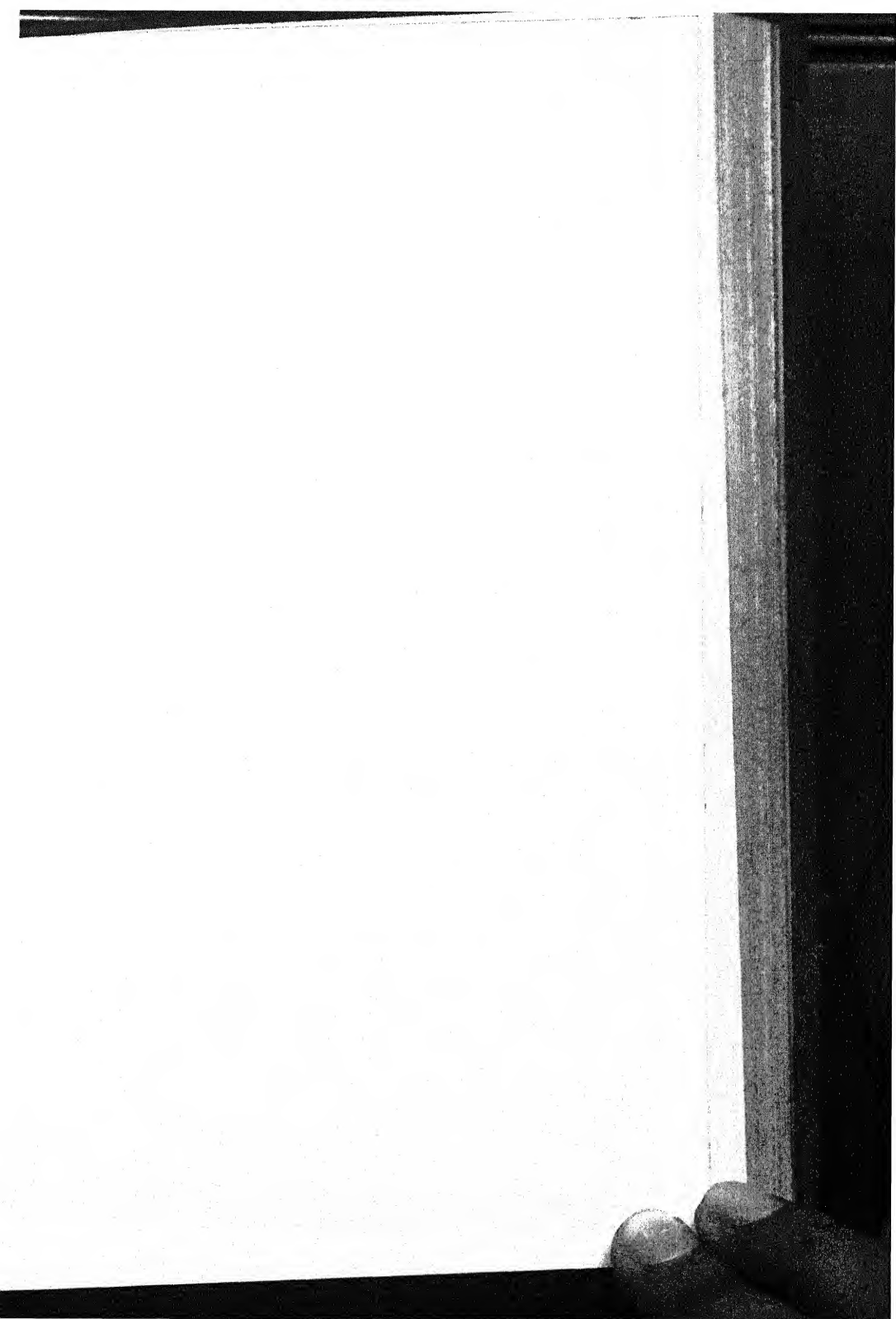
³ *A jász-kunok története*, II, Kecske-mét, 1873, p. 404.

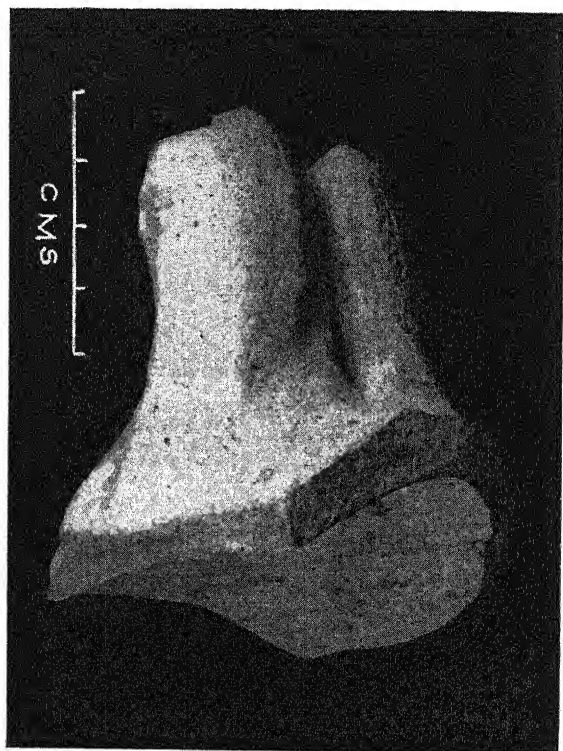
We cannot, therefore, fix with certitude the exact date at which our notice was written. Regrettable as this fact may be, it diminishes but little its historical value. Its contents show us convincingly that after Hungary's terrible devastation, Béla IV was making great efforts to be kept informed about Mongol intentions. As I have pointed out elsewhere,¹ Béla's uncle Berthold, Patriarch of Aquileia, seems to have been closely associated with western efforts to get in touch with the Mongols. We know that he played a prominent rôle at the Council of Lyons, where Pope Innocent IV took the decision to send Plano Carpini to the Mongols. I have also voiced the opinion that Plano Carpini's itinerary through Poland and Russia is the road followed by the Hungarian Dominican Julian on his return journey in 1237. It would therefore seem quite natural that, on his way back, Plano Carpini should have visited Béla IV, who had provided him with most valuable information, and for whom up-to-date knowledge about the Mongols was a matter of life and death. This appears also from Béla's letter to the Pope quoted above.

Our document also shows that Béla IV kept up his old habit of sending messengers to the Mongols "to investigate their actions and their secrets", and it is regrettable indeed that, apart from Julian's account and Richard's *De facto Ungariae Magnae*, no text giving details of these missions should have come down to us. Our text does not make it clear whether the information on Ögödei's death through poisoning, the fall of hail on what should have been the Coronation day, etc., are based on Carpini's account or on that of Béla's spies. If the latter is the case, the agreement between the two sources is truly remarkable.

I think that the interest of our notice lies not only in the new light it sheds on the itinerary of John of Plano Carpini, but also, and perhaps even more, in the contribution it makes to our knowledge of Hungarian-Mongol relations. It is indeed regrettable that so little should be known of the journeys undertaken by the numerous envoys of Béla IV to the Mongols.

¹ *Un voyageur du treizième siècle ; le Dominicain Julien de Hongrie*, (BSOAS, 1952, xiv/3, p. 601).





FRAGMENT No. 2202. KOLHAPUR.

IMPORTED MEDITERRANEAN AMPHORAE FROM KOLHAPUR

BY H. D. SANKALIA

PLATE VII

WHILE REVIEWING OUR report on the *Excavations at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur)* in *JRAS.*, 1954, p. 90, Mr. P. S. Rawson said that "the main excavations, however, yielded little more evidence of Roman contacts". This is true as far as the published evidence goes.

Recently, however, I revisited Kolhapur and had occasion to go through all the finds dug out by us in 1945-46. Among them I was surprised to find fragments of handles of amphorae. These had escaped notice, because for several reasons all the finds were *not* received by us at Poona.

The sherds in question are two. The first No. 1633 was found (on 26.1.1946) in sq. I at a depth of nearly 19 feet in layer 5a. The second fragment No. 2202 was found (on 5.2.46) in Extension II in layer 7 at a depth of 17 feet. (See Fig. 1.)

Both these layers, but particularly that in Extension II, represent the debris of the Āndhra or Sātavāhana brick structures. Layer 6 constitutes the reddish brick earth, while layer 7 in Extension II was made of brick debris proper. So the sherds can be confidently placed towards the end of the Āndhra occupation at Kolhapur. This, on the evidence of coins found, is the main Āndhra structural phase. We date it about the first century A.D. In fact it would now appear that the earlier hoard of Graeco-Roman bronzes discovered below the foundation of a brick house on Mound I at Brahmapuri, might have been hidden there when such calamities as fire and destruction overtook Kolhapur. For we found definite traces of fire in charred ruins—bamboo rafters, nails, and tiles—among the debris.

With these fragments of amphorae Kolhapur becomes the third site in India to have definite relics of a trade connection with the Mediterranean world. The other two sites are Taxila in the north and Arikamedu near Pondicherry in the south. For the earlier bronzes from Kolhapur being very small and easy of transport might have been imported into India at any time, though this possibility is now precluded, as we ascertained that these were recovered from the foundation of Andhra houses.

The fragments seem to represent an amphora with a curved and not an angular or straight handle. If so, it or they resemble the type illustrated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler from Arikamedu (Fig. 10, type 70)¹ with double or joint handles, and the one from the Fezzan.² The fabric of the Kolhapur amphora handles is gritty pink, or pale red, probably with a yellow slip originally, as in many of the Arikamedu specimens, but now it has an olive green appearance. In section, one of the joint handles is almost round, but the adjoining one has a shallow groove. Whether the latter is an accidental feature, or a feature of some significance indicating early or late types in amphorae or a special locality, it is difficult to say. For it does not seem to occur in any of the Arikamedu specimens, and of those found from outside India we have no means to ascertain such detail at present.³

¹ Cf. *Ancient India*, No. 2, p. 44.

² Wheeler, Sir Mortimer, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London, 1954), pl. xviii, A.

³ After this was written amphora sherds have been found in the Excavations at Nevasa, Dist. Ahmadnagar (1954-55, 1955-56) and at Ujjain (1956-57).

SADDLE QUERNS AND STRATIGRAPHY

By H. D. SANKALIA AND S. B. DEO

WHILE REVIEWING OUR book—*Report on the Excavations at Nasik and Jorve*—Dr. Allchin has raised a very important point.¹ He says that the “legged grinding stools” found at Nasik and ascribed by us to period II A “would have been happier in II B or even III”. The question is when an object is found in a well-stratified deposit in a lower layer, should it be dated to a later period because at some place—here Sirkap II—it has been found in a later period, or should the entire layer be dated to the later period even though well-sealed by an upper layer? In this particular case the legged quern has undoubtedly a comparatively short duration as pointed out by Sankalia² much earlier; but it is very widely spread in India.³ This immediately cautions us to be careful in assigning a date to objects found nearly 1,500 miles apart.

However, our dating of the Nasik layers and incidentally of the legged querns has been very well supported by subsequent excavations at Maheshwar and Navda Toli (1952-53) and Nevasa (1954-55, 1955-56). The excavations at Timberva in Gujarat also confirm our dating.

At Navda Toli, four legged querns were found. Of these one was a surface find. Of the rest, two came from layer 5 of trench III. Trench III had 14 layers in all, of which layers 10 to 14 yielded microliths, painted black-on-red pottery, similar to the lowermost chalcolithic layers at Nasik, and the Red-and-Black ware. Layers 5 to 9 gave early coins, the NBP and the Red-and-Black pottery. It should be noted that no later pottery like the Red Polished was associated with any layer of this period. Moreover, the querns were found with the NBP in the same layer.⁴ Thus the dating of this period as also that of the querns could be assigned to c. 400 B.C. to 100 B.C. In trench I of the same site, one specimen was found in layer 2 which had given microliths, the Red-and-Black ware

¹ *JRAS*, pt. 3 and 4 (1956), pp. 245-46.

² “Cultural significance of Saddle querns,” *Journal of the Anthropological Society* (Bombay), 1950, New Series, vol. iv, no. 1, pp. 35-39, pls. i to iv.

³ M. G. Dikshit, *Tripuri-1952* (1955), pp. 106-107.

⁴ For the chart of stratigraphical co-relation and other details of cultural sequence of these sites see, H. D. Sankalia, *Journal of the M.S. University of*

and painted pottery. In this case, there was an abundance of the Red-and-Black pottery as compared with the painted pottery, the former increasing in quantity from layers 3 to 9. This will be enough to convince that all the legged querns at Navda Toli came from layers which immediately succeeded the real chalcolithic ones.

Maheshwar yielded slightly different evidence. Here in trench II were found nine specimens. This trench had nineteen layers, of which 13 to 19 gave the NBP, punch-marked coins, the Red-and-Black ware and a glass tablet with an elephant impression¹—all these making it possible to date these layers between 400 B.C. and 100 B.C. None of these layers, however, yielded a legged quern. The layers 8 to 12 gave the NBP and early coins and the Red-and-Black pottery. Still later layers—2 to 7—yielded mostly the Red polished ware which was totally absent in layers 8 to 19. Thus at Maheshwar the earliest occurrence of the legged quern is associated with the later phase of NBP and early cast coins. This period may be dated to c. 100 A.D. and goes back to at least 100 B.C.

Thus in Central India itself, as demonstrated by Maheshwar and Navda Toli, the querns show an early introduction and long duration.

The Nevasa evidence is identical.² Here, of the eight specimens, one came from layer 7 of trench F (depth 16 feet) another from layer 6 of the same trench (depth 14 feet) and the third was found in a soak-pit (No. 4) which was dug from layer 7. None of these three layers, as also the soak-pit, yielded any Roman ware. On the other hand they gave the Red-and-Black pottery the NBP and early Satavahana coins. The rest of the specimens came from layers 3 and 2 (depth 4 to 9 feet) of trench H and I which also gave the Red polished ware, a few pieces of the amphora and of a megarian bowl.

Layers 7 and 6, resting at a level some 2 to 3 feet above the weathered layer and yielding the legged querns prove conclusively that they were introduced at Nevasa in the earliest historical period.

Baroda, vol. ii, No. 2, (1953), pp. 99-114; H. D. Sankalia, B. Subba Rao, and S. B. Deo, "The Archaeological sequence of Central India", *South-western Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 9, No. 4, 1953, pp. 343-56; S. B. Deo, "Beads from the excavations at Maheshwar and Navda Toli (Madhya Bharat)," *Journal of the University of Bombay*, vol. xxiii, pt. 4, Jan. 1955, pp. 1-20.

¹ See, H. D. Sankalia, *JNSI*, xv, ii, pl. vii, i; also *BDCRI*, vol. xiv, No. 1, June, 1952, p. 58.

² For a general account of the stratigraphical and cultural sequence see *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1955-56, pp. 8 ff.

The excavations at Timberva¹ turned out a single specimen from layer 6, the layer above it yielding the NBP. Thus here, too, the association of the NBP and the absence of the Red polished ware in this layer points to the early existence of the legged quern.

At Adichannalur, a four-legged quern was found associated with an urn burial complex.² Excavations at Brahmagiri have brought to light more evidence of such urn burials on the basis of which we may assign the Adichannalur specimen to c. second century B.C.

At Tripuri,³ legged querns were assignable to c. first century B.C., while at several other sites like Kolhapur, Kondapur, Paithan and Bhita they have been roughly dated to the Andhra or Sātavāhana period. This shows that such querns had an earlier existence than that at Sirkap.

The purport of the whole thing is that an article of daily use in Indian household even to-day is not such a type fossil as the Arretine sherd which can be very closely dated. We have got to allow for its longer existence in time and space as revealed by stratigraphical evidence in different parts of India since 1945.

A case in point is that of the Red-and-Black pottery which had for a long time been very loosely termed "Sātavāhana ware". Initially it was found in association with Sātavāhana coins and also called the Megalithic ware in the south. But our excavations at Navda Toli and Nevasa and the excavations by Rajasthan Government at Ahar have brought to light its existence in still earlier layers,⁴ which has necessitated the elimination of the dynastic or "monumental" name given to the ware and has focused the attention of scholars on the reconsideration of the date of the ware and its diffusion.

That the saddle querns at Taxila were made of "Mathura Sandstone" is wholly irrelevant to the issue because the majority of specimens at Nevasa and Nasik are made of basaltic trap. At Maheshwar—Navda Toli, ten out of the thirteen pieces were made of trap stone. It is needless to point out that this is the local raw material.

The caltrop is found only at two places, the first being Sisupalgash in Orissa and the second, Nasik, from which it is better not to argue

¹ R. N. Mehta, *Excavations at Timberva* (1953), (Baroda, 1955), p. 25.

² ASI, AR, 1902-1903, pp. 117, 139.

³ M. G. Dikshit, loc. cit.

⁴ *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1955-56, (Delhi, 1956), pp. 1 and 11.

too much at present but to go by stratigraphical evidence. The reference in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya¹ to "triangles" and "tridents" to be spread on the way to a rampart for obstructing an enemy's march may imply objects like the caltrop. Kosambi² has very well pointed out that the *Arthaśāstra* must be dated to the fourth century B.C. The matter will become very significant if many more sites in India yield this rare object and if everywhere it has to be placed in the third-fourth centuries A.D., as at Sisupalgarh.

Regarding the hiatus and the thinness of the deposit of Period IV (Muslim-Maratha), it may be said that the top layers have been very much disturbed. This we have clearly stated in our report (see p. 10). Beyond this, it is not possible to give any further explanation. In India, it is not unusual to find such an hiatus. At Nevasa, we found the layers of the fourteenth century resting right on those of the first-third centuries A.D. So, too, at Navda Toli.

We have to thank Dr. Allchin for the possible identification of the copper object No. 481 as an unguent vessel like so many found at Taxila.

Regarding the copper axes, though it is true that the addition of 1.78 per cent of tin may not be intentional, still the experts who carried on the metallurgical examination have thought it fit to designate it as a "cast low tin bronze" (*Nasik Report*, p. 160).

But for Dr. Allchin's Review this helpful discussion would not have come up.

¹ Transl. R. Shamasastri (1929), p. 51.

² D. D. Kosambi, *Indian History*, (Bombay, 1956), p. 200 ff.

THE PANĀKAḌUVA COPPER-PLATE OF VIJAYABĀHU I

By S. PARANAVITANA

IN A REVIEW of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica, Volume V, Part I*, which appeared in the *JRAS.*, Parts 3 and 4, 1956, pp. 237-240, an attempt was made to prove the Panākaḍuva Copper-plate a forgery.

The main argument of the reviewer was that the charter embodied in the document was unnecessary, as it is stated therein that the privileges granted by it were hereditary in the family of the donee. I gave an explanation of this feature and it may be added that numerous land grants issued by Sinhalese kings of later times are concerned with estates already the heritable properties of the donees before the issue of the grants. See, for example, the Devundara Dēvāle Sannasa of Vijayabāhu VI, published by Bell in his *Report on the Kegalle District*, page 96. If the reviewer's reasoning accepted for the Panākaḍuva grant, then the Devundara Sannasa and a large number of other Sannasas, whose genuineness is not in question, have to be condemned as forgeries.

The reviewer, in his anxiety to condemn the document, confers on its grantee privileges which the king had not thought of granting, and proceeds to ask: "Could a family in any state have been immune from guilt even for treason against the sovereign?" The document nowhere states that the family of the grantee was immune from guilt for any offence, least of all for treason. What it states is that for certain offences, punishments lighter than those normally provided by the law shall be inflicted on them, or that they shall be pardoned up to three times for a certain offence. With regard to treason, should a member of the family commit that offence, he was to be punished by banishment, a provision identical with the injunctions of Manu for a Brahmin guilty of it (*Manu*, viii, 380). So, is it incredible that a privilege enjoyed by every Brahmin in ancient India was conferred by a king on the members of the family of a chieftain to whom he owed his life and throne?

Another argument of the reviewer against the genuineness of the document is that "the grant ends with the grandsons" of the donee. But has he understood the implications of its wording? For the document expressly states that the privileges granted by

it were to continue "so long as the royal line of Okāvas continues to exist in the Island of Lankā". Did the king who issued the grant expect his line to come to an end with the demise of the grandsons of a person older than himself?

The reviewer's argument on palaeographical grounds against the genuineness of the document is that, as I pointed out, the script of the copper-plate has a general resemblance to that of the inscription of Sundara-mahādevī, which is about fifty years later in date. But it has not been proved that the forms of Sinhalese letters underwent appreciable change within the fifty years in question. The Sinhalese script has remained without much change for periods of a century or more at times. The contention that the document dates from the time of Niśsaṃka Malla is disproved by the fact, pointed out by me, that the forms of certain letters in it are more archaic than the corresponding ones in the inscriptions of that monarch, or even of Parākramabāhu I, who was of an earlier date than Niśsaṃka Malla.

The reviewer claims that my discussion of the word *ava* provides evidence that the charter is of the twelfth century, because, "if written in the eleventh century, it is unlikely to have anticipated developments in language." Authority was quoted from a twelfth century work for the particular meaning of the word *ava* in this document, but it does not follow that the particular meaning developed for the first time in the twelfth century. When a word in course of time assumes a new significance, it may not be recorded in literary works of the period—and of ancient literary works we have to-day only a very small number. If a word found in an ancient document is interpreted on the analogy of the meaning of that word in modern times, it only indicates that the modern meaning has come down from antiquity. For instance, when we find the word *ukas*, "mortgage," in tenth century documents with precisely the same meaning as in the thirteenth century, the date of the earliest known literary reference, and as it bears to-day, are we to condemn the earlier documents as spurious, because it is unlikely that they would "have anticipated developments in language"?

THE TĀLAVANAS : ANOTHER KEY TO THE AGE OF A PART OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

BY J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT

PROFESSOR EDGERTON exclaimed in 1944 : " I have been so fortunate as to discover one datum of prime importance for its bearing on the date of this ' original ' text of the Mbh. . . . In 2.28.49 occurs, in my opinion as a certain part of the original, the name of the city of Rome It justifies the inference that our text cannot have been composed at any time before this city name came to the ears of the Indians. This means surely not before the first century B.C., and very likely not until a century or two later." ¹ Upon the soundness of this inference it will suffice here to observe that the textual material upon which it is based leaves something to be desired. But when my attention was drawn for the first time to this passage of the Mahābhārata by Sir Walter Gurner's article in a recent issue of this *Journal* ² it at once struck me that, whatever may be the value of the reference to the Yavanas, the passage betrays the date of that portion of the epic by a reference of a much more concrete character. ³

The B.O.R.I. edition prints the following words ⁴ :—

Pāṇḍyāṁś=ca Draviḍāṁś=caiva sahityāṁś=Cōdra-Kēralaiḥ |

Andhrāṁś=Talavanāṁś=caiva Kalīṅgān Ōṣṭra-Karṇikān ||

The whole couplet is variously read in the various manuscripts, but apart from the reference to Ōṣṭras (?) ⁵ there is general agreement among the versions that the Pāṇḍyas, the Cōlas (Cōdra), ⁶ the Kēralas, and the Āndhras find a place amongst the political units conquered by Sahadēva. We have no difficulty with any name but that which appears in some manuscripts as *Talavana* and in some

¹ Introduction to the *Sabhāparvan*, *Mahābhārata*, ii, 1944, fasc. 14, p. xxvii.

² 1956, *JRAS.*, 201.

³ I am obliged to Dr. A. L. Basham, for the information that there are grounds for supposing that our Mahābhārata was worked over at comparatively late periods and brought up to date in respect of such matters as *janapada* names; and for encouragement to publish this note.

⁴ *Mahābhārata*, ii, 28, 48. This passage should be read together with ii, 31, and (*Bhīṣmaparvan*), vi, 10.

⁵ See *Mahābhārata*, vi, 10, 56, 58.

⁶ Cf. variant readings given, and Manu, x, 44 with the variant readings noted by Buehler in *SBE.*, xxv, 412, n.

as *Tālavana*. As a list of *janapadas* occupying the South of India it does not fail to please us. The West coast north of Kērala appears to have been mentioned earlier in the narrative, and our only complaint is that the Deccan is represented only by the Āndhras, whom we know not to have ruled in any measure worthy of mention in that part of the plateau occupied by the modern Mysore State. This would appear to leave a gap geographically, just as we have one superfluous name, Talavanas or Tālavanas, to attribute to a region. The word *Draviḷa* probably refers to a Tamilian power other than the Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas, and only one candidate suggests itself, namely the dynasty of the Pallavas.

There is no difficulty in equating the geographical lacuna with the people known as Talavanas or Tālavanas: on the contrary the identification seems inevitable. The city of Talakād (otherwise Talakāḍ) is known in Sanskrit¹ as Talavana-pura, the "city of the Tala forest". This is an attempt to translate the word Talakād, which, being Kannaḍa, means in all probability "the head forest" (we may compare *Talekkād* in Ep. Carn. iii T.-N. 1). It is just possible that *taḷa-* (in the spelling Talakād which more recent Kannaḍiga scholars prefer), meaning "shining", provides the etymology which we should accept, and it is in any case nearer to the Tamil form of the city's name, viz. Talaikkāḍu,² "the luxuriant forest." But the first-mentioned derivation is the one which appeals to me most, for "the head forest" is exactly what the Talakād region was and to a large extent still remains.³

A traveller to the Deccan from the Cōla or Pāṇḍya countries had the choice of making his way over the Nīla-giri or along the banks of the Kāvēri river, a distinctly more attractive route. After perhaps a week of rough going through an almost impenetrable forest he came to the "top", the head of the *ghat*, a clearing, possibly of natural origin, around a sharp double bend in the river. The centre of the region took its name from the region

¹ It first appears in *Indian Antiquary*, viii, 212, at 213, ll. 11-12 in the form *Tala-*; one may also refer to *Epigraphia Carnatica*, iii Malavalli 31 (A.D. 1117), and vi Kadur 69 (A.D. 1160).

² Appearing e.g. in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, iv Chamarajnagar 181 (A.D. 1173); Yelandur 56 (A.D. 1290).

³ Cf. the legend of Talakād's origin given in the *Sthala-purāṇam* of the place (for which see H. H. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection, a descriptive catalogue*, Calcutta, 1882; also L. Narasimhacar, *A guide to Talkad*, Mysore, 1950). In the last-referred work at p. 3 we are told that "Talkād" means "jungle".

itself, and Talakāḍ early became as important a commercial as it was obviously a key strategic settlement. As the "gate to the *ghats*" its possession conferred a valuable hold over the security of the Tamilian plains below,¹ and a power to strangle the trade and to menace the cultivation of the Kannaḍigas on the plateau in a wide arc reaching from the south-west of the town to its north-east-by-east.

The importance of Talakāḍ was in no sense more limited than that of the well-known *janapadas* in the plains, but it was only during a short period that the city was the capital of a large political power. Its inclusion in this list means that the author's informant was of the opinion that while the Āndhras were still a name in the Northern Deccan, and the Eastern coastal strip was divided between Kalingas, (?)Pallavas, Cōlas, and Pāṇḍyas, the remaining, central, portion of the peninsula could easily and obviously be named after Talakāḍ. It means further that the information could not have been obtained earlier than the period when Talakāḍ first became a capital city. We know that she ceased so to be in 1004, when she was renamed Rāyarāyapura and became a provincial town of the Cōlas; but so late a date is of no interest to us in our present context.

Though the chronology of the Western Gaṅgas is far from being established,² and it is quite uncertain when that dynasty began and when they ceased to occupy Kolar as their headquarters, it is not known that the Gaṅgas established themselves at Talakāḍ, and retained it as their administrative capital, from before *ca.* 440.³ The possibility that it was so occupied earlier cannot be entirely ruled out, but then we have to account for the constantly repeated tradition of those days that the by no means remote ancestors of the family had ruled in and migrated from Kolar, a place at a considerable distance and destined to be much less important politically. Moreover, even if Talakāḍ had been a Gaṅga capital before *ca.* 440 the name of the city would not have served the purpose to which it

¹ Talakāḍ is called "the frontier of the Gaṅgavāḍi-nāḍ" in *Epi. Carn.*, ii, 240 (*ca.* 1178).

² See M. V. Krishna Rao, *The Gangas of Talkad*, Madras, 1936; N. Lakshminarayan Rao and R. S. Panchamukhi, *Karṇāṭakada Arasumanetanagaḷu*, Dharwar, 1946 (pp. 110 and ff.); and S. Srikantha Sastri, *Early Gangas of Talakad*, Bangalore, 1952 (reviewed in this *Journal*).

³ *Indian Antiquary*, viii, 212, and Lakshminarayan Rao and Panchamukhi, 125-7.

appears to be put in our couplet. It was not until *ca.* 500 at the earliest that the Gaṅga family established a local ascendancy over the Bāṇas and Nolambas and came to terms with its keenest rivals, the Kādambas. The Gaṅgas only earned the respect of the Pallava emperors by impressing their power upon the greater part of Mysore, by conquering and subjecting to census the wide territory known for centuries afterwards as the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000. And this could not be claimed for them before the beginning of the sixth century at the earliest.¹ Nevertheless until the rise of the Cālukyas of Vātāpi, or, more effectively, until the rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were their successors, there was no imperial power capable of representing the *janapada* called Kuntala, and that is perhaps the chief reason why no mention of Kārṇāṭa or Kuntala is made in this passage about Sahadēva's *dig-vijaya*.² From the seventh to the ninth century an empire was to be built up which comprehended, if in some cases only nominally, every quarter of Kārṇāṭaka : but before that period the only power capable of representing the region was that of the Gaṅgas, and thus the choice of the Tālavanas, or people of Talavana-pura, to stand for the South Deccan was not inappropriate. So far as our present information will permit, we must date the author's information not earlier than *ca.* 500 and not later than *ca.* 800 of our era.

¹ The pioneer of Gaṅga territorial expansion appears to have been Avinīta, (*ca.* 494-555).

² It appears, however, in the rather differently-designed vi, 10, 64, and ii, 31, 11, and was therefore a well-known term at the period in question.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Far East

JAPANESE RELIGION IN THE MEIJI ERA. Compiled and edited by KISHIMOTO HIDEO. Translated and adapted by JOHN F. HOWES. Tokyo, 1956. (Volume II of the series *Japanese Culture in the Meiji Era (Meiji Bunkashi)*, issued by the Centenary Culture Council (*Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyokukai*.)

The translation in this volume makes no pretence to strict accuracy, for its compiler, Professor Kishimoto Hideo, felt that an English version would rather require the contents to be "subtly reinterpreted so that they can fit in with the Western readers' knowledge on Japan". Mr. Howes was therefore requested to make a translation "of the level which would be useful in the West as reference for writers of undergraduate term papers".

Rather unfortunately, the writers of these term papers were assumed to have no knowledge of Japanese, nor, apparently, any desire to make further researches into the subject. All the footnotes and references in the original Japanese have been ruthlessly cut out; long passages are quoted with no indication as to their source, while the "names of places or persons unknown in the West" have also been deleted. Mr. Howes has, moreover, thought fit to write the translation itself in the style of an undergraduate term paper—for his English has a peculiarly monotonous, jerky quality hardly calculated to flatter his subject.

The work consists of five long essays by various pupils of Professor Kishimoto:—a Survey of Religion during the Tokugawa period, Shinto, Buddhism, Christianity, and Religion and Social Development. Nearly a third of the book is taken up with the essay on Christianity, ground already fairly well covered in Western languages. More useful will be the essay on Buddhism, where there is, for example, an interesting discussion on the influence on Japanese Buddhism of European scholarship in the Pali canon.

The work will doubtless serve the purpose the Centenary Council intended, but it seems a pity that their low rating of "Western readers' knowledge on Japan" should have so curtailed its usefulness.

C. BLACKER.

TONKIN 1644/45. JOURNAAL VAN DE REIS VAN ANTHONIO VAN BROUCKHORST. Edited by C. C. VAN DER PLAS. Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen te Amsterdam, Mededeling No. CXVII. Amsterdam, 1955. Endpaper maps. 112 pages.

For those who can read Dutch, this narrative forms a useful pendant to J. M. Dixon's article, "Voyage of the Dutch ship *Grol* from Hirado

to Tongking," which narrated the establishment of Dutch trade with that country (*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1883). The Dutch desired to trade with Tongking chiefly from a wish to secure local and Chinese silks and silk piece-goods for disposal in the Japan market for silver, the Dutch (unlike their Portuguese rivals at Macao) having no direct access to Chinese ports. On the other hand, the Trinh family who ruled Tongking in the name of the nominal Le emperors, were anxious to get Dutch military and naval help in their war against the Nguyen family (also nominally acting on behalf of the Le) who ruled Annam. In practice the Trinh-Dutch alliance did not work out satisfactorily, though the Dutch Factory at Hanoi was not withdrawn until 1700. Brouckhorst's journal is largely taken up with complaints of the misbehaviour of the "King" and his mandarins; but it gives us an interesting glimpse of Hanoi at that time, with its influential Portuguese and Japanese mercantile communities. Less than a dozen notes are provided by the editor, but there are an adequate glossary, an index of proper names, and a short introduction.

C. R. BOXER.

NIHONGI. CHRONICLES OF JAPAN FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO A.D. 697.

Translated from the original Chinese and Japanese by W. G. ASTON.
xx + 407 + 443 pp. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London,
1956. 45s.

This is a facsimile one-volume reprint of the standard work originally published as a two-volume supplement to the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society of London* in 1896 which has long been out of print and is very scarce. The appearance of this reprint is therefore very welcome; but it is a pity that the opportunity was not taken to add a brief prefatory note on the standing of the *Nihongi* (or *Nihon Shoki* as it is usually called in Japan) at the present day, in the light of the work done on this period by Japanese and European scholars in the last sixty years. There are a number of illustrations, but the publishers have not seen fit to provide a list of these, and Aston's original index could have been improved upon.

C. R. BOXER.

THE COLLOQUIAL SHORT STORY IN CHINA: A STUDY OF THE SAN-YEN COLLECTIONS. By JOHN LYMAN BISHOP. Pp. xi, 144. Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies XIV. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956.

This book will be of great interest to students of Chinese literature. The *San yen* collections are the *Yü shih ming yen* (reissued as *Ku chin*

hsiao shuo), *Ching shih t'ung yen* and *Hsing shih heng yen*; the more widely-known *Chin ku ch'i kuan* comprises mainly stories selected from these collections. In them are preserved the best specimens still extant of stories of the *hua-pen* or "prompt-book" type. Though published in this form only in the 1620's, many of the stories have their origins in the work of the street-corner story-tellers of Kaifeng and Lin-an in the Sung period.

The author traces in some detail the development of the genre, and has interesting things to say about the *pien-wen* stories of the T'ang period, preserved among the Tun-huang manuscripts. In describing the *San yen* stories themselves, he is more concerned with the literary characteristics and values of the genre as a whole than with the detailed examination of individual pieces. He is given to generalizing, and can be a little misleading, but his conclusions are always stimulating.

Two-thirds of the book consists of translations of four stories, KCHS 3, 16 and 26 and CSTY 3, each representing a different thematic type. The translations are close, complete, and generally accurate.

CYRIL BIRCH.

ORACLES AND DEMONS OF TIBET. By RENE DE NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ.
pp. xiv + 666, 25 figures, 20 plates. Oxford University Press.
London, 1956. 105s.

When establishing itself in Tibet Mahayana Buddhism had to subdue a number of demons—mostly deities of the native Bon religion—which it then harnessed as protectors of the new faith and absorbed, together with many magical practices and rituals of the Bon. Some of the tamed demons and new ones too, who still make their appearance usually as the result of a violent death, act as oracles, taking possession of a human medium. Such occult practices, which have little relation to the spiritual and moral teaching of Buddhism, are spoken of deprecatingly by many educated Tibetans, and it is even permitted to laugh publicly at some of them, for instance, when they are parodied in popular comic turns in the Ache Lhamo dramatic dances. Yet the Bon legacy has a strong hold on Tibetans and even a foreign visitor may be disturbed and excited by the sight of the gNas-chuñ Oracle in a state of possession or by the ritual performed before the fierce protecting deities in the dim light of a mGon-khañ. Professor Nebesky-Wojkowitz has catalogued and described exhaustively the various classes and manifestations of demons, tutelary spirits, and oracles, with the attributes and offerings proper to them. He has collected information about every sort of magical practice—weather-making, protective magic, destructive magic, and so on, and has given such details as the

dress of an oracle and the various stages of a prophetic trance. His principal informants were three learned Incarnate Lamas, a minor oracle, and other Tibetans temporarily living on the Indian border of Tibet. The subject, hitherto confused and largely obscure, has been presented authoritatively and comprehensively with meticulous scholarship; and any further writing about it must have reference to this work. But even to this mass of careful detail a little can be added here and there; and a visit by the author to Tibet itself would certainly produce still more information—for instance, about the religious dances—and perhaps a few small modifications. For example: it is my impression that Tibetans do not usually refer to the gNas-chuñ Oracle, when actually in a state of possession, as “Chos-rje: Lord of Religion” but as “Chos-skyoñ: Protector of Religion”, Chos-rje being used of the Oracle as a personage in his normal life. I should also like a check on the spelling of “Dzam-gliñ-spyid-gsañ” (? spyi-bsañs?). The author's informants seem not to have mentioned certain other points. The Tibetan Government does not only consult the gNas-chuñ in an emergency but regularly sends a Minister and other officials to him on the third day of each month. The Oracle at gSañ-phu, who embodies a form of Tshañs-pa, is said to prophesy in an Indian language, though Nepalese who have heard him say is not recognizable. But the spirit which inspires a female oracle (bstan-ma) at Lhasa speaks intelligible Chinese through her mouth although she is said to know no foreign language. In the fifth month of each monkey year (every twelve years) a number of lesser oracles, including the dGa'-gdoñ, assemble at gNas-chuñ for a ceremony known as the Lha-bsdur, Comparison of Deities. Anyone who has seen the driving out of the Scapegoat at Lhasa will miss in the account on page 508 any mention of the storm of whistling and clapping to which he makes his departure and of the shower of packets of coin thrown to him, many containing counterfeit money which he may himself have used in his licensed transactions with the Lhasa shopkeepers. It may be said too, with reference to p. 158, that Tibetans not only disapprove of intermarriage with blacksmiths but also avoid eating with them, an example of caste prejudice rare in Tibet.

This is not a book for anyone to read through continuously. There are many matters which would interest the general reader but he must be prepared to pick his way judiciously through the maze of ferocious and repellent figures with strange, esoteric names and epithets, few of which are translated for his benefit. It will probably be hard going even for an initiate; but good indexes provide an adequate guide and this book will remain an essential and valuable work of reference for which students of this special and little known aspect of Tibetan religion will long be grateful.

H. E. RICHARDSON.

TŌASHI KENKYŪ—MANSHŪ HEN (STUDIES ON THE HISTORY OF THE FAR EAST). By SEI WADA. pp. 12, 2, 674, 16. 12 pages of English summaries, 4 photographs, 2 illustrations, and 2 maps. Tokyo, 1955. The Tōyō Bunko Publications, Series A, No. 37.

One of the outstanding achievements of Japanese specialists on Manchurian history was the *Mansen chiri rekishi kenkyū hōkoku* (Reports of studies on Manchurian and Korean geography and history) 16 volumes, published by Tokyo Imperial University, 1915-1941. Professor Wada was one of the contributors to this periodical and this book is a collection of eighteen important articles about the historical geography of Manchuria, covering the period between the second century B.C. and the seventeenth century A.D. Among them the following may attract special attention. In the fourth article Professor Wada throws light on the internal situation of Eastern Manchuria in the T'ang period by examining the geographical accounts of the state of Po-hai in the *Hsin T'ang-shu*. The fourteenth and eleventh articles deal with the exploitation of Manchuria by the Chinese government at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, the main source material being the *Ming shih-lu* and the *Yijo sillok*. Through these articles the history of the early Manchus has been for the first time brought to light. The description concludes with the end of Möngke Temür (1433), the chief-tain of Chien-chou tso-wei, whence Nurhači, the founder of the Ch'ing dynasty sprang, and a continuation has been made by Dr. K. Sonoda in his *Kenshū Jochokushi* (Studies on the history of the Chien-chou Jürčens), 2 volumes, Tokyo, 1948-1953. Related subjects are treated in the eighth and twelfth articles. The thirteenth is a study of the main route along the Sungari and Amur in the Yüan and Ming periods. The last four articles are concerned with the rise of Nurhači and the latter two in particular refer to social and cultural aspects of the Manchus at that time. It may be added that four more interesting articles by Professor Wada on Manchurian history are to be found in another collection of his works, *Tōashi ronsō*, Tokyo, 1942.

M. HONDA.

SINO-JÜRČED RELATIONS DURING THE YUNG-LO PERIOD (1403-1424).

By HENRY SERRUYS. pp. viii + 118. Wiesbaden, 1955. Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 4.

Although the Mongols of the Northern Yüan have attracted some attention among the western scholars, hardly any serious study has been made of the Manchus of the Ming period and this book by Professor Serruys is perhaps the first approach in the West to the study of Manchurian history based on the *Ming shih-lu* and the *Yijo sillok* (Annals of the Li Dynasty of Korea). It is characteristic of the Ming policy towards the Jürčens that the Ming government controlled them

by establishing commanderies (*wei*) in Manchuria and appointing their chieftains as commandants. This book is a study of relations between the Chinese and the Jürčens during the Yung-lo period through the examination of the records concerning these commanderies. Lists of commanderies are to be found in the *Ming-shih*, *Ta-ming hui-tien*, *Wu-pei-chih*, *Huan-yü t'ung-chih*, *Ta-ming i-t'ung-chih*, *Liao-tung chih*, and *Man-chou yüan-liu-k'ao*. (A further list, not referred to by the author, appears in the *Huang-ming chih-fang ti-t'u*, C.79b—a microfilm of this rare book is in the Cambridge University Library.) The number of commanderies established in the Yung-lo period amounts to 178. The identification of these commanderies is made very difficult by the fact that there are discrepancies in the readings of the names and that they are scarcely mentioned in sources apart from these lists. Professor Serruys proceeds to the question of the location and migration of the commanderies, further discussing the relations between the Ming Chinese, Jürčens, and Koreans. It should be pointed out, however, that the Jürčens of this period have been more thoroughly studied by Professor S. Wada (*Tōashi kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1955, pp. 223-248, 478-502, and especially 337-477). A full comparison with Professor Wada's results would shed more light on the identification of the commanderies in the alphabetical list given by Professor Serruys (pp. 75-92). It should also be remarked that some of the views of Professor H. Ikeuchi, to whom Professor Serruys is to some extent indebted, have been corrected by Professor Wada. It may be added that a collection of source material is now being made on this subject in the new *Min dai mam mō shiryō*, being published by Kyoto University (extracts from the *Ming shih-lu*) and Tokyo University (extracts from the *Yijo sillok*).

M. HONDA.

SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION IN CHINA. By JOSEPH NEEDHAM with the research assistance of WANG LING. Volume I. pp. xxxviii + 318. Cambridge University Press, 1954.

Dr. Needham and Mr. Wang Ling have set themselves the task of examining the progress of scientific thought and the technological development achieved in China. It is the author's conviction that "... the Chinese proved themselves able to speculate about Nature at least as well as the Greeks in their earlier period. If China produced no Aristotle, it was ... because the inhibitory factors which prevented the rise of modern science and technology there began to operate already before the time at which an Aristotle could have been produced". (p. 18). Of the seven volumes planned, the first is termed "introductory orientations", and the remaining six are to cover the history of scientific thought; mathematics and the sciences of the heavens and the earth; physics, engineering, and technology; chemistry

and industrial chemistry; biology, agriculture, and medicine; and the social background. The universal scope of the project demands that the author delve into many of the non-scientific aspects of sinology, and must be prepared to relate his subject to the comprehensive conceptions of Chinese civilization. In addition to the ability to understand and handle both scientists' and sinologists' material, the author must be able to utilize sources and scholastic contributions in European, middle eastern and other oriental languages. The most serious gap in this respect, as Dr. Needham recognizes, is the inability to take due account of secondary material in Japanese and Russian.

This book is addressed "not to sinologists, nor to the widest circles of the general public, but to all educated people . . . who are interested in the history of science . . . in relation to the general history of civilization . . ." (p. 8), and in the absence of suitable comprehensive modern material, the author has seen fit to provide readers with a general summary of the basic linguistic, geographical, and historical facts of Chinese civilization in so far as they are herein concerned. In addition the introductory volume provides some bibliographical notes; and some two-fifths is devoted to describing conditions of travel between China and Europe. Bibliographies, index, and maps are appended; illustrations and tables help the reader throughout.

It is to be expected that the Chinese historical and geographical background will be interpreted in this book in economic rather than humanist terms, although, in any general historical summary, stress should be laid specifically on the importance of Chinese cultural unity and continuity. While many of the assertions about historical facts or problems are supported by reference to original sources or the contributions of modern scholars, in some of the general discussions of controversial topics the educated reader who is no sinologist may be misled, for example, in the implications of such statements as "... slaves at least were immolated at the burial of royal personages, a custom which persisted long into the Chou period". (p. 85), or "Chhin Shih Huang Ti had sent Hsü Shih on a peaceful expedition to Japan in order to make contact with the supernatural beings who were supposed to dwell in the islands of the Pacific". (p. 108). The notes on the Chinese language are largely devoted to a description of the evolution of Chinese characters; perhaps there will be room in the section entitled "language as a limiting factor" to include a note about the difficulties or ambiguities involved in interpreting Chinese texts, with particular reference to scientific contexts, and the problems or ease of expressing scientific or technological terms and concepts in Chinese.

The bibliographical notes will go far towards preparing Western readers for the particular strength and weaknesses pertaining to Chinese sources and works of reference. However the differences

between the various types of historical compilation require greater elucidation; readers should be informed of some of the traditions of Chinese historiography, and warned that new compilations may frequently be no more than rearrangements of existing material. Quotation from and reference to Wieger's *Textes Historiques* is questionable. As is recognized, the translations in that work are "very tricky" (p. 75, footnote (c)); in addition the texts are taken from *T'ung chien kang mu*, and further reference to the works of which that book is an abbreviated version is often most desirable. More precise reference to the more primary sources would save sinologists (who, despite the author's modest disclaimer quoted above, will learn much from this book) considerable trouble, and, similarly, the value of quotations from contemporary Chinese books would be greatly enhanced by exact references. Sinologists will regret that they must await the appearance of the final volume before they can know which editions are used of Chinese works dated before 1800.

The adoption of a system of romanization which has some new features is perhaps not so advantageous for "all educated people" as would be the use of one of the systems that appears in dictionaries or other works of reference. Sinologists will be grateful for the ample provision of Chinese characters for proper names.

The first volume of *Science and civilization in China* will undoubtedly stimulate further inquiry by students and will enable them to consider particular problems in their truer perspective, against the background of the more general developments of human thought in both China and other parts of the world. The most useful contribution of volume I is perhaps to be found in the seventh section, wherein is quoted evidence taken from middle eastern and other sources that is not always available or utilized by sinologists. The full implications of this section await expansion in succeeding volumes, but the work has been advanced sufficiently to enable the author to risk some general predictions, for example, "it is probable that our final conclusion will be that there was far more intercourse and reaction between the Chinese and their western and southern neighbours than has often been supposed, but nevertheless that the essential style of Chinese thought and culture patterns maintained a remarkable and perennial autonomy." (p. 157); or again, in connection with the possibility of contacts between the Hellenic and Asian worlds, "but on the whole Chinese and Western science seem to have influenced each other so little that the probability is against the existence of such fruitful conversations. For technology the matter stands otherwise." (p. 223). It is with the amplification of this statement, in anticipation of the more detailed work of succeeding volumes, that the last few pages of volume I are concerned.

SOME T'ANG AND PRE-T'ANG TEXTS ON CHINESE PAINTING. Translated and annotated by WILLIAM REYNOLDS BEAL ACKER. pp. i-lxii + 1-414. Leiden: E. and J. Brill, 1954.

To the art historian, who is too often either an aesthete or an archivist, Dr. Acker's book will serve as a modifying influence. The bibliographical problems of Chinese art are excessively complex and such that the art historian has either to choose his texts arbitrarily, or solve the problems himself before he can approach his subject; add to these the philological and historical problems and it immediately becomes clear that no art historian working in the oriental field can hope to deal with all these things at once with more than moderate success. It is for these reasons that this scholarly study of the early texts on painting is particularly welcome.

The most interesting aspect of the study is in connexion with the famous Six Canons of Hsieh Ho. With reference to these Dr. Acker is careful to state that his rendering "spirit resonance" for the first canon is one of convenience. It is as well that he does so, because there are many who are unhappy about this rendering. In an exposition extending over about ten pages he makes his connotation of the term clear. He has critically examined the grammar and syntax of Hsieh's text and compared it with the better known quotation of Chang Yüan-yen. This is all to the good because it emphasizes the need to examine and establish the original texts, and also because it draws attention to the fact that Chinese authors misquote their sources as often as do those of the West.

The translation of even a part of Chang Yüan-yen's *Li tai ming hua chi* is a monumental undertaking, but most valuable and interesting. Whether the translation is in tune with the true attitude to painting of the late T'ang period still remains to be seen. Although Dr. Acker puts forward some good arguments in favour of his interpretation, it is by no means the only possible one, as he would, no doubt, be the first to admit. If Hsieh Ho's Six Canons have been differently interpreted at different times, this is also true, perhaps to a lesser extent, of the introductory matter of Chang's great work, if only because the attitude toward the qualities of mysticism in the approach to painting has always been subject to change.

Dr. Acker's careful and detailed researches, not only into the structure of the three texts he translates, but also into their philosophical and historical backgrounds are of incalculable assistance to art historians who have neither the time nor the qualifications for such exacting labours. The fragmentary nature of both the *Ku hua p'in lu* and the *Hsü hua p'in* must have presented serious obstacles. The *Li tai ming hua chi* is in every way a more substantial text. It is earnestly hoped that the remaining chapters of this work will become available in due course—perhaps it may be added with fewer misprints

of characters. The translator's experienced handling of his material and his obvious appreciation of the value of painting as a part of Chinese culture, will help art historians to strike that delicate balance between æsthetic outpourings and mere archivism.

MARGARET MEDLEY.

OKAZAKI, YOSHIE. JAPANESE LITERATURE IN THE MEIJI ERA.
Translated and adapted by V. H. VIGLIELMO. 673 pp. Tokyo,
Obunsha, 1955.

Publication of this volume, the first of a projected thirteen-volume cultural history of the Meiji Era, has already raised doubts among many reviewers about the advisability of translating into English Japanese works of a secondary nature. Such reviews (notably those by Robert H. Brower in *Far Eastern Quarterly* XV, 4, and Herschel Webb in *Japan Quarterly* III, 1) have pointed out the glaring faults of the present volume in such detail as to obviate their further enumeration here. Suffice it to say that for a Western reader this is an extraordinarily frustrating work. Even the index is not always of help in piecing together the scattered bits of information about any given author. Too often we are told merely, "the names of poets who wrote *waka* before and at the beginning of the Meiji Era are as follows . . ." and then given a list of men (in this case nineteen), none of whom may be mentioned again. Discussions of the important works of the period tend to be crude summaries of the contents with a casual reference or two to European works which may have exerted influence. A typical evaluation is the one of the *Romaji Diary* by Ishikawa Takuboku, one of the truly memorable works of the period: "the seventh diary, which was written in Roman letters, described vividly his self-confidence and his dreary, depraved life at that time."

Nevertheless, despite every criticism that may be levelled at this volume, it remains an invaluable, indeed unique aid to any Western reader of Meiji literature. Dr. Viglielmo's translation obviously cost him an immense amount of labour; if there is any fault with which it may be taxed, it is over-conscientiousness. We may well have preferred a translation which omitted long lists of members of literary schools or of otherwise unelucidated titles. But perhaps this failing should rather be considered the book's greatest asset. Even if totally unsatisfactory as a literary history, Okazaki's study is a mine of information, and only an exceptionally gifted (or disingenuous) Western reader could claim that this information was just as easily available from Japanese sources directly. It is a pity that Dr. Viglielmo did not choose instead to write his own history of Meiji literature, but until he or someone else does, Okazaki's will be an indispensable if sometimes faltering guide.

DONALD KEENE.

GRACIA HOSOKAWA. By JOHANNES LAURES, S.J. pp. 133. Kaldenkirchen : Steyler Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1956. German Marks 5.80.

The heroine of this biography was a daughter of Akechi Mitsuhide who murdered the military dictator, Oda Nobunaga, at Kyōto in 1582. She was married to Hosokawa Tadaoki, daimyō of the province of Tango, an enthusiastic patron of the tea-ceremony and other arts, but a man of violent and impulsive temper. Gracia, as she was called after her baptism in 1587, was at first ill-treated by her husband when he heard of her conversion, but he later relented and became rather proud of his wife's adherence to the foreign religion. The lady was something of a blue-stocking, and taught herself Portuguese with the aid of some books which the Jesuit missionaries sent her. Her chief claim to fame, however, is the stoic manner in which she met her death during the Sekigahara campaign of 1600, when she was killed by her husband's command to prevent her falling into the hands of his enemies. Her story has long been popular in Japan, and Fr. Laures here gives what is undoubtedly the definitive biography in a European language, with a scholarly synthesis of the most reliable Japanese and Jesuit sources.

C. R. BOXER.

Central Asia

CENTRAL ASIATIC JOURNAL. International Periodical for the Languages, Literature, History and Archaeology of Central Asia. Editor in Chief, Professor Dr. K. JAHN (Leiden). Joint publication of Mouton and Co., The Hague, and Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden. Vol. I, 1955, 4 issues, 309 pp.

Since the war considerable attention has been focused on Central Asiatic studies. The number of scholars working in this field has greatly increased and the need has been felt of creating a specialized periodical which "could serve as a forum for all those concerned with research in Central Asia".

Backed by efficient publishers, Professor K. Jahn has undertaken the task of editing such a journal, and the first volume, which now lies before us, shows that his efforts were successful to an uncommon degree. This beautifully produced volume is dedicated to the great Mongolist, the Rev. Antoine Mostaert, C.I.C.M.

The volume, of a very high scientific standing, contains 16 articles and 10 book reviews. Of course it would be impossible to enter into a detailed criticism of each of the articles contained in the volume, and it would be invidious to pick on some of them while ignoring the others. As the present notice has no other aim than that of calling attention to the

existence of this excellent new periodical, I will content myself with enumerating the articles contained in Vol. I:—

PENTTI AALTO, On the altaic Initial *p*-.

GERHARD DOERFER, Beiträge zur Syntax der Sprache der *Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen*.

K. ENOKI, Sogdiana and the Hsiung-nu.

DAVID M. FARQUHAR, A description of the Mongolian Manuscripts and Xylographs in Washington, D.C.

RICHARD N. FRYE, Notes on the Renaissance of the 10th and 11th Centuries in Eastern Iran.

W. HEISSIG, Die mongolische Steininschrift von *Olon sūme*

LAWRENCE KRADER, Qan-Qayan and the Beginnings of Mongol Kingship.

O. MAENCHEN-HELFEN, Pseudo-Huns.

KARL H. MENGES, The South Siberian Turkic Languages, I.

N. POPPE, The Turkic Loan Words in Middle Mongolian.

UDO POSCH, Zur Orthographie und Transkription des Burjatischen.

PAVEL POUCHA, Mongolische Miszellen, I-IV.

M. RÄSÄNEN, Über einige Benennungen des russ. Wortes *rublj* "Rubel".

ROBERT A. RUPEN, Antoine Mostaert, CICM, and Comparative Mongolian Folklore.

ZEKI VELIDI TOGAN, Das özbekische Epos *Chân-nâme*.

D. SINOR.

South-East Asia

LA GESTE FRANÇAISE EN INDOCHINE, Vol. 2, by G. TABOULET; pp. 429-935. Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris, 1956.

In this second volume M. Taboulet deals with the 55 years between the first French settlement in Cochinchina and the outbreak of the first World War. He is wise in his choice of dates because, during these years, a complete phase in France's relations with Indo-China was enacted. During the first World War Vietnamese travelled in large numbers to the West for the first time in their history and brought back with them alien ideas which were to set in motion a new and different phase. M. Taboulet here relates the engrossing story of the meeting of a highly-developed European civilization with three Asian peoples, the initial clash of ideas between the two sides, the difficulties encountered by both in seeking to understand the other, and the gradual imposition of French rule on the whole of Indo-China.

The difficulty that has faced the author was not that of finding a sufficient number of interesting documents to tell the story, as it must have been for Vol. I (published in 1955), but of selecting a small

fraction of the mass of extant material. Great care and skill have been exercised in making this selection, and the result is a book of absorbing interest, not only for specialist historians, but for all who wish to learn about the interrelations between widely differing civilizations and between men whose religions, philosophies, and histories had nothing in common. Is it too much to hope that a Vietnamese historian will one day compile a similar book, covering the same period but based solely upon Vietnamese documents?

It is a pity that the index of names has cited references to numbered texts, which are clumsy and time-wasting, instead of page references.

P. J. HONEY.

BURMA IN THE FAMILY OF NATIONS. By Dr. MAUNG MAUNG. pp. xi, 236. Amsterdam, 1956.

This work was written as a thesis for the doctor's degree in law at the University of Utrecht. It presents a survey of Burmese history with particular reference to the external relations of the post-war Union of Burma. The survey occupies 152 pages, and is followed by an appendix of 80 pages containing sixteen illustrative documents extending from the Treaty of Yandabo, which concluded the first Anglo-Burmese war in 1826, to the Reparations Agreement signed with Japan in 1954. Since the days of Sir Arthur Phayre authoritative writing on Burmese history has been so much the work of Europeans that this able sketch by a Burmese writer is to be warmly welcomed, for it is scholarly and objective in tone. So far as the facts are concerned, it adds little to existing knowledge. In his Preface Dr. Maung Maung tells us that his object was to produce a book of general, as well as academic, interest. As an academic exercise it covers too wide a canvas: a deeper study of a more limited period would have been preferable. But he has certainly succeeded in writing a book of general interest, and in a style which makes it a pleasure to read.

D. G. E. HALL.

KANA SERA, ZANG DER ZWANGERSCHAP. By P. DONATUS DUNSELMAN, O.F.M. Cap., Verh. Kon. Inst. XVII, pp. 284, 23 ill., 1 map, 's Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1955. Dutch guilders 21.

In view of the number of MSS. originating from Indonesia and made provisionally accessible in the catalogues of MSS. of the great libraries, not much has been made accessible in print. Here Father Dunselman enriches students of Indonesian literatures with a voluminous book containing more than 3,000 verses in the Dayak language accompanied by a Dutch translation and a wealth of notes. As Father Dunselman

lives among the Dayaks and was helped by an excellent informant, himself a rhapsodist, he was able to discuss all his philological difficulties. His main problem has been not to cling so closely to the Dayak idiom as to be unintelligible to his readers, and at the same time not to depart unduly far from that idiom. I think he has steered a good middle course and in doing so enriched us with a poem alive with lovely assonances, unexpected similes, and beautiful descriptions. This *Kana Sera*, this journey to heaven and back homeward, may be sung only during a marriage feast, when it has to be sung in full to obtain the attendant blessing; it has a sacral character.

The songs that especially celebrate episodes from the lives of culture-heroes are called *Kana Tanggi*, Vigil Songs, songs with which to pass the night without sleeping are recited by way of amusement. Father Dunselman's informant knows them too by heart, and it is to be hoped that we may expect a similar book from the two of them in this more secular field.

It is real beauty which Father Dunselman brings us here, an aspect of life overlooked in the scientific approach. The language, perhaps the most widely spoken vernacular of Borneo/Kalimantan, affords valuable material, and the rhapsodic form of the verses is refreshing for the student of Malay. The sphere, though not completely alien to what Hinduism and Islam brought to Indonesia, reflects roughly that pre-Hindu stage which we wish to know better for an understanding of cultural stratification. In his English Summary (pp. 279-283) Father Dunselman finds more room to summarize his work than has been allotted here, but there is one thing which he himself could not say: that he has done his work not only with devotion but also with outstanding success.

C. HOOYKAAS.

COMMENTAAR OP DE SALASILAH VAN KOETAI. By Dr. W. KERN.
Verh. Kon. Inst. etc. XIX, 1956, 193 pp. 18 Dutch guilders.

This Salasilah, "chain" (*scil.* of monarchs) of Kutai, a sultanate near the East-coast of Kalimantan (Borneo), is a chronicle without dates, written in a Malay of its regional type. As a certain amount of historical information is already available from elsewhere, we need not worry much about lack of dates, and as we have a sufficient amount of good Malay of various literary genres at our disposal, we can only be grateful to the lamented Dr. W. Kern for the painstaking way in which he has elucidated the Javanisms and above all the Banjarisms (coastal Malay of Bandjar Masin, South-Kalimantan). His philological commentary clears the way for a translator and for the social anthropologist. A student of "things Kalimantanese", versed in Dayak and Malay past and present, finds here documentation about early youth

and ascension to the throne, contacts with Chinese and conversion to Islam, cultural influence from Java and care of the dead, etc. For the students of Malay literature Dr. Kern points to the passages in *pēnglipur lara*-style, preserved by being written down just when the rhapsodical form deteriorated into the dull Malay prose only too well known. That students of Javano-Balinese culture can help in the elucidating of passages is shown by my wife in her paper "On a white stone under a nagasari-tree", which is shortly to appear.

In the eighties the first half of the *Salasilah* was made available in text, translation and notes by the Resident Magistrate Tromp in the B.K.I., and nobody less than the famous Snouck Hurgronje underlined its importance. In 1935 Mees in his thesis for a Leiden doctorate gave a complete text, but Kern had the advantage of staying in Bandjar Masin for some years, of visiting Koetai on the occasion of a court-festival and of procuring better MS. material. So now at last the ore has been purified, philologically, and a safe basis has been reached upon which work can start. This is more than can be said of any other Indonesian historical text, but Dr. Kern, a belated victim of the war, though paving the way, had to leave the making of a translation to other hands.

C. HOYKAAS.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON LIBRARIES, MANUSCRIPTS AND BOOKS OF BURMA FROM THE 3RD CENTURY A.D. TO 1886. By E. P. QUIGLY. pp. 34, with pen-sketches by the author. Arthur Probsthain, London, 1956. 6s.

In this little brochure the author has collected together some interesting information from a wide variety of sources. It is the work of a lay enthusiast, who has never been to Burma, but has caught the fascination of the country and its culture from contacts with Burmese students in London. The pen-sketches with which Miss Quigly illustrates her text are delightful, but she touches only the fringe of her subject.

D. G. E. HALL.

STUDIES IN COUNTRY MALAY. By C. C. BROWN. pp. xi + 259. Luzac and Co., 1956.

Although most of this book consists of papers already published in Malaya, its author deserves the thanks of every advanced student of Malay for having them collected and printed in a more permanent form. All but one of the dialogues were written by Malays, one of whom, I believe, is a man of exalted rank who enjoys and speaks the dialect

of his own state. All the dialogues come from the northern states and all but one from the east coast of Malaya, only the Japanese invasion having deprived Mr. Brown of his MS. material for a chapter on the dialect of yet another of them, the state of Pahang. It is to be hoped that the university of Malaya may inspire some Pahang Malay to repair this loss and may discover Malays from Malacca and Johore to give us specimens of the less provincial dialects of southern Malaya, which might cause Mr. Brown to change his conviction that the dialects of which he has written are the only "true Malay". He is, of course, right to defend even dialect against the new synthetic Indonesian, which, however, no one speaks and which from its foreign non-Malayan syntax is unintelligible to the vast majority. And his use of the term "standard Malay", which existed already in fifteenth-century Malacca, shows that he allows there is a Malay spoken by the educated, though such is his enthusiasm for dialect that one wonders at times if he would champion the talk of a Yorkshire or Berkshire ploughman against standard English.

The first fifty pages of this book provide valuable material for the lexicographer and Mr. Brown's notes could have been written only by a scholar with a classical training. If the book is ever superseded, it will be by some candidate for a Ph.D., who taking his stand on historical events tries to distinguish between Achinese, Minangkabau, and Bugis elements in the dialects along the banks of the Perak river. But perhaps it is already too late.

Royat (p. 135) must surely be Kelantanese for *riwayat*.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

A GUIDE TO ENGLISH-MALAY TRANSLATION. By C. C. BROWN.
pp. 1-89. Longman, Green and Co., 1956.

In an admirable introduction to this excellent treatise Mr. Brown emphasizes that the Malay whether of the Peninsula or of Indonesia is untrained in the art of translation and that to hide this literary deficiency he glories in his condition, labelling his efforts "modern" Malay. Malay style suffered somewhat by literal translations from the Arabic, but in the absence of a daily press, the radio, and foreign schools the wound was superficial. To-day "modern" Malay is leaving the syntax of the language maimed for ever. It is a literary tragedy but not the fault of the Malay. The clever boy was bound to learn English or Dutch, and the teachers of those languages, whether Europeans or Asians, were as a class incompetent to train the Malay to think from the foreign language into his own. So like the Malay, to cover their deficiency they gloried in it, exalting the direct method as the only and sufficient way to teach a language. The direct method is the shortest cut to the acquisition of a foreign language by waiters

and housemaids, but certainly it does not equip translators. And to-day the harvest of this easy approach is being reaped by millions.

The pitfalls of the Malay translator are chosen by Mr. Brown with unerring accuracy, and he breaks down skilfully abstract European phraseology into the concrete equivalent that constitutes idiomatic Malay. If only there were ten lecturers in London and Singapore as competent as he, the destruction of a language might be averted at any rate in Malaya. But where are such lecturers to be found? And the force of Indonesian example grows stronger every day.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

CALENDAR OF PHILIPPINE DOCUMENTS. Edited by PAUL S. LIETZ. pp. i-xvi + 1-259. The Newberry Library, Chicago.

This handsome volume describes briefly the contents of the manuscripts in the Ayer collection at the Newberry Library. As the editor says, "There are letters, journals, diaries, *tēstimonios* and *expedientes*, official and unofficial reports, histories and public records. The items range from a curious copy of Book XX of Oviedo's *Historia* of 1558 to some letters of Aguinaldo and other items on the Philippine revolt to 1903. They treat of Indian affairs, Moro wars, Sangleys, native missions as well as those of China, Japan and the Marianas, church-state conflicts, schools, hospitals, foundations, taxation, customs, trade, monopolies and agriculture. Others are concerned with Spanish imperial problems involving Dutch and British ambition for footholds in the Philippines." A book invaluable for the historian.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

PRASASTI INDONESIA. By J. G. DE CASPARIS. Vol. I, pp. 204, diterbitkan oleh Djawatan Purbakala Republik Indonesia. A. C. Nix and Co., Bandung, 1950; Vol. II, pp. 395 diterbitkan oleh Dinas Purbakala R.I., Masa Baru, Bandung, 1956.

Professor De Casparis' first volume was the thesis for his degree of Ph.D. at the University of Indonesia (Djakarta). Written in Dutch (with an Indonesian flyleaf) it bore as its title "Inscripties uit de Çailendra-tijd". Ch. I (pp. 1-95) deals with six documents in Old-Malay, Old-Javanese, Sanskrit and Sanskrit/OJ. Ch. II (pp. 96-130), "Contribution to the Chronology of the Çailendra-kings in Java," draws five other Skt. inscriptions into the discussion as primary sources and five Çailendra- and five non-Çailendra inscriptions as secondary sources. Ch. III (134-192) deals with the Foundations mentioned in the Çailendra inscriptions. A Summary in English (pp. 198-204) concludes the book which has no index. It has been critically dealt with—in Dutch—by Professor Bosch of Leiden in the

BKI. 108/2 (1952), pp. 190-199. As Bosch is perhaps *the* authority and Dutch still the leading language in this field, I think I can refrain from further dealing with an important work, which gives us new material and interesting points of view.

Vol. II of these Indonesian Inscriptions published by the Archeological Service of the R.I. reads on the flyleaf "Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century A.D. II". The subtitle in former centuries might rightly have been: "Marvellous Discoveries concerning Kings and Realms and Religious Beliefs of S.E. Asia, especially Java and Sumatra, with scattered remarks about topography and orthography, linguistics and poetics, based upon a dozen groups of newly discovered inscriptions in Sanskrit, Old-Javanese and Old-Malay, followed by three indexes of words in those languages."

The following points are merely so many plums from this rich pudding: a good definition of Çrivijaya's importance on p. 18/9; the controversial "exclusive" contacts with Northern India on p. 20; an important conclusion about Funan in Nara-vara-nagara in note 39 p. 184/5 (N.B.); the possibility of existence of a Çaiva dynastic centre in Těmaŋgung during Çailendra domination in South Central Java in note 71 p. 229 and p. 258; Walaing = Ratu Baka plateau p. 255; transference of power from Central- to East-Java pp. 260 sqq.

Dr. De Casparis, as a good Buddhologist, confirms the Tāntric element of VIIIth-century Buddhism in Çrivijaya (p. 29; 266), finds the Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra in Indonesia (p. 60), and points to Sarvāstivādin views. He discovers the oldest dated specimen of OJ. poetry (p. 281), points to alaṃkāra and OJ. Rāmāyaṇa, and deals with sandhi and spelling.

This notice is restricted to no more words than the second book has pages (400 pages with some 600 words to a page); it is impossible to sketch the wealth of new materials and points of view of this indispensable but astonishing book. For the Table of Contents is only a sketchy enumeration of starting points, the "Introductory" reveals nothing about the method of selection; it is, in fact, not an introduction at all but merely a compilation of some practical remarks, such as are usually to be found in small print after an N.B. There are no headings, italics, heavy print, etc., to catch the eye. There is no summing up or tabulation of results (which are so many and so important), and no index to subjects or even to names of authors quoted. The author could not help the fact that his transliterations are not accompanied by photographs, but I do hope that when he enriches us with his promised book on 60 new Plaosan inscriptions a competent colleague will help him to present the materials more satisfactorily. Topics and results of such outstanding importance deserve a perfect exposition.

C. HOOPYKAAS.

INDONESIAN SOCIETY IN TRANSITION, A STUDY OF SOCIAL CHANGE.

By W. F. WERTHEIM. Van Hoeve, The Hague, 1956. pp. xiv, 360.

This is an ambitious attempt by a Dutch scholar to analyse the contemporary Indonesian scene against the context of Indonesian history. He does this by dividing his treatment of topics such as religious reform, urban development, and nationalism into four sections. The first deals with the period before European influence became effective, the second with the nineteenth century, the third with events up to the Japanese War, and the fourth with the contemporary scene.

If we may judge from the author's preface he has two distinct purposes in mind. The first is by example to convert his fellow social scientists to historicism. "The present trend among sociologists and cultural anthropologists," he says, "lacks the historical perspective indispensable to a better insight into the real meaning of separate facts." Even economists, he thinks, will get more from a study of the origins of what he calls "the elements of novelty" in Indonesian society, than from the simple application to present Indonesian problems of a discipline developed in the West. The author's second purpose is the inverse of the first. He seeks to direct the energies of orientalist and historians of Indonesia into directions which the social scientist considers significant, or in his own words, "to draw the attention of the specialist to a few social implications of these [historical] processes."

Though it is difficult to assess the result as a whole, one would say that he deserves to succeed in his first aim but not in his second. The sections covering the twentieth century, especially those dealing with nationalism and religious, social, and cultural development, are excellent. Though the individual reader may disagree with some of his statements Professor Wertheim has something fresh and stimulating to say on all of these topics. What he has to say of the earlier periods is of less value. Schrieke in the 1920's and Van Leur in the 1930's have already given us a sociological interpretation of early Indonesian history, making use for their material of the work of the generation of Dutch historians which preceded them. Professor Wertheim uses the same material once more, and follows the lines they laid down, without adding anything to what they have said. It is difficult indeed to see that further discussion of a subject such as the conversion of the Indonesian princes to Islam, even if conducted under the ægis of Max Weber, can contribute anything in the absence of fresh evidence. But the discussion in the later sections of the chapter on religious reform contributes a great deal. This may be due to the fact that a great deal of detailed work produced in the last twenty years is available for analysis in this field. It may be because Professor Wertheim is himself more familiar with the later material—"the social history of the present century",

he says, "is my special field of study." But one is tempted to think that the real reason is the limitations attaching to all analysis of historical material by social scientists when it is both different in kind and smaller in volume than the materials which they are accustomed to use in their examination of contemporary societies. There is evidence of this even in the nineteenth-century sections. Who, for instance, with any detailed knowledge of Dutch tariffs in the Indies, would assert that before 1871 "the Dutch practised an open-door policy with respect to its (*sic*) colony" ? (p. 64).

One must not take this line of criticism too far, for only about one-third of the book is on the period before 1870. In dealing with the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (which is after all its main purpose) it forms with its notes and reading lists an excellent introduction for anyone seeking to come to grips with Indonesia's present-day problems.

C. D. COWAN.

LES RÉGIMES MATRIMONIAUX DU SUD-EST DE L'ASIE : ESSAI DE DROIT COMPARÉ INDOCHINOIS. Vol. 2. LES DROITS CODIFIÉS. By ROBERT LINGAT. pp. 195. École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Saigon, 1955.

This completes a work that began with a volume under the sub-title *Les Régimes Traditionnels*, published at Hanoi in 1952. That volume was received enthusiastically elsewhere but was not reviewed in this Journal: the two should be treated together.

Essays in the Comparison of Laws (commonly known as Comparative Law) appear more rarely than treatises on Law or on a particular law or systems of laws. They generally have one or more practical objects, whether to assist in law-reform or in the (very desirable) unification of several municipal laws, or the investigation of the bases of a particular legal institution, which, for an instant, has ceased to be taken for granted. Some of the earliest speculations, why institutions accepted as a matter of course in their specific environments should differ so radically from society to society, were inspired by European contacts with the administration of their laws to Orientals; and it is fitting that one of the most objective and instructive of recent publications in this field should be the work of a French jurist thoroughly familiar with the laws in force "between India and China". Since publications on the laws of the former French Indo-China and adjacent territories are few and difficult to obtain, this original and penetrating study is particularly welcome.

The gist of Professor Lingat's argument is that, given the information we have upon customary law in Indo-China, Siam, and Burma, information obtained from their medieval codes and records of customary usage and the decrees of courts thereupon, we are in a position to affirm that

in contrast to India (the cultural conqueror) on the one hand and to China (the military and political conqueror) on the other, the countries which came in various measures under their very different types of influence developed an institution of fundamental importance which neither of the great civilizations possessed, namely the community of goods between spouses. This development, aided by religious doctrines in the southern and western regions of the area, but firmly discouraged by political theories and legislation in the north, is, he argues, bound up with the basic ethnological fact that, whereas the great civilizations were politically, ethnically and socially autocratic, patriarchal, and, in different ways, "joint-familial", the civilization of these countries inherited from a not-so-remote migratory past a belief in the individual hearth, the independent family home centred entirely upon the couple. He feels that it is no coincidence that to find the closest counterpart of the "community" system of pre-Revolutionary France one should have to go to Viet-Nam or to Cambodia: basic facts of human nature and of political heritage have determined the similarity. And although the administration of the customary law by the French has in parts of the area produced anomalies and perhaps resisted the full expression of the realities of the situation, and although the adoption by these countries of European models for their codification has to some extent forced the indigenous facts into only partly suitable written forms, the essential speciality of family law in that part of the world remains undiminished.

The story of the development of the various customary laws prior to the intervention of foreigners and during their sway, up to the moments when codification attempted to crystallize and to some extent to improve upon the traditional systems, is given in detail and is full of interest. We see once again the difficulties which Europeans had in attempting to express in terms significant to themselves institutions imperfectly understood, with the same untoward effects as in India. Burma still has to codify her "Buddhist" family law, and it will be interesting to see whether she learns more from the enterprise of her neighbours who imitate the French, or from the mistakes of her neighbour who imitates the English.

Professor Lingat's thesis must be accepted so far as it goes. But he would be the last to suggest that the mystery is solved. Armed as we now are with the material which he has lavishly garnered and published with impeccable style, we may confidently ask him to go further. Let us assume that these countries resisted Indian as well as Chinese influence. What does Professor Lingat say about the laws of the Kandians of Ceylon and, more significantly, those of the *Tesaval-amai*? For the Tamils of Jaffna were never Buddhists and they were ruled as autocratically and as patriarchally as ever were their cousins in India. Yet among their customs ample traces of a *communio bonorum* are still to be found, right on the doorstep of the country where,

according to Professor Lingat, such an institution not only was missing but also could not have been expected to exist.

Let the solution to the general question, why some societies foster community while others eschew it, be as it may; we may suggest that so far as concerns South-East Asia the legal history of India may be more significant than appears at first sight. Whereas the Āryans were patrilineal and patriarchal, worshippers of ancestors and of ancestral deities, having, as is evident from this work alone, very numerous points of similarity with the Chinese, the pre-Āryans had an entirely different outlook upon the family and upon the position of women. Among the Dravidians the son tended to form a separate household on his marriage and his wife brought with her a substantial contribution to the prosperity of the new home. The children were as much related to their mother's as to their father's kindred. In early times it was taken for granted that marriage meant partition, that man and wife were one in financial matters, at least until their divorce, which everyone knows was an easy affair. The Sanskrit texts reflected aspects of this: what does the maxim *dampatyor madhyagam dhanam* mean, if it does not suggest that *once* wealth was common between spouses? The advent of sub-Āryan jurisprudence combined with the establishment of Brahmanical prestige largely subordinated the indigenous systems to forms appropriate to populations more nearly assimilated to Āryan usages; and where the later Southern commentators did not succeed in blending the two, the British courts virtually forced the public to accept the unhappy compromise. To this day the Southern "dowry" is one extra-legal survival of the old *régime* which has resisted every effort to eradicate it, despite the hatred with which it is regarded by all those subject to its burden. In fact neither Manu, nor any of his surviving colleagues, nor *Mayne on Hindu Law and Usage* gives a fair impression of the state of affairs in medieval South India. Nelson, whom Professor Lingat knows, is more helpful. And we know that it was the South Indians who "colonized" Burma, Champa, and the rest.

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT.

STUDIES IN INDONESIAN ARCHÆOLOGY. By Dr. W. F. STUTTERHEIM. pp. xx + 158, 23 figures. Koninklijk Instituut voor taal-, land- en Volkenkunde, The Hague, 1956. Guilders 12.

To make available in English some of the late Dr. Stutterheim's articles in Dutch is a laudable undertaking, even though its appearance at this juncture may be a symptom of the "moribund" condition of active field work in Indonesia referred to in *The Times* article of 21st June, 1957, entitled "Threat to study of South-east Asian antiquities: Political Independence as indirect cause".

The present selection includes such noteworthy studies as "Čhaṇḍi Barabudur: name, form, and meaning", to which Paul Mus freely acknowledged his indebtedness in the introduction to his great work *Barabudur*; "An Ancient Javanese Bhima Cult"; "An Important Hindu-Javanese drawing on Copper"; and "Some Remarks on the Pre-Hinduistic Burial Cults in Java". The bias that has governed this choice of articles must be apparent to anyone cognizant of Stutterheim's work as a whole. Here we have only studies of strictly Indianist appeal, or, in the paper last mentioned, an article on purely pre-Hindu culture. Completely unrepresented is the series of articles dealing with the interaction of local and Hindu cultures, which released Indonesian studies from the straitjacket of a purely Indianist attitude and opened the way for the proper appreciation of Indo-Javanese cultural evolution. Striking omissions are "Oud Javaansche Kunst" (1923), "Oost Java en de Hemelberg" (1926), "Oost Javaansch Kunst" (1927), "Het zinrijke waterwerk van Djalatoenda" (1937), and "De Beelden van Belahan" (1938). It is not that any of these articles achieved definitive results, and much that they contain is now out-dated. But they—no less than "Čhaṇḍi Barabudur"—are replete with fertile and often brilliant ideas and conceptions, for which later workers in this field must continue to feel grateful. Thus to have fertilized further research, in these days when South-east Asian studies in many quarters seem in danger of sinking into an arid scholasticism, is perhaps a greater achievement than to have lived to write a *magnum opus*.

The cause of these regrettable omissions is not far to seek: the editor is Professor F. D. K. Bosch, whose recent article "Uit de Grensgebieden tussen Indische invloedssfeer en oud-inheems volksgeloof op Java" (*Bijdragen*, 110, pt. 1, 1954) consisted of an uncompromising, and in my opinion entirely unjustified, criticism, from the extreme Indianist point of view, of all this aspect of Stutterheim's work. It may be hoped that the Koninklijk Instituut will see their way to issuing a further volume of Stutterheim's articles. If this is done under an editor whose selection does not amount to censorship, a more comprehensive memorial to the late scholar will result, and the wider audience to whom Dutch is a closed book will be able to judge for themselves the value of his contribution to Indonesian studies.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

Near and Middle East

DIE PUZRIŞ-DAGAN-TEXTE DER ISTANBULER ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN MUSEEN. Teil 1: Nr. 1-725, von M. Çiğ—H. KIZILYAY—A. SALONEN.

This book contains the largest number of tablets (725) from

Drehem ever to be published in one volume. The earliest is dated in the 8th year of Šulgi and the latest in the 3rd year of Ibši-Sin. The majority are from the short reigns of Bur-Sin and Šu-Sin. The tablets are published in transliteration only. In general this is, at this date, a satisfactory method. The tablets repeat the form, contents, and phrases made familiar by previous publications, and by these latter, newer publications may be checked. It would, however, be a help if copies were given of some of the more important novelties or variations. Those which occur in the Istanbul Collection might profitably have been supplied in place of the four pages of uncertain signs.

The authors have done their work well. Some details prompt query or dissent. *á-giš gar-ra* is not a personal name; *Ha-ma-ad* (? *Ha-ma-si*); *In-šum* (? *sì*); *Ni-ḫi* (? *TUK*); *Maš-gá* (? *kán*)-*du-du.ki*; *Gid-da.ki* (? *Pu-uš.ki*); *Zi-ti-AN.ki* "a variant of *Zi-da-num.ki*" (?); *eren gid UḪ* (?) *-zi-ga.ki* (! *eren Bu-uh-zi-gar*); "*Ur-šu.ki* = 'Arsüz in Northern Syria' is doubtful: *Ur-šu.ki* occurs on Umma tablets; *gar-ra-ak* (? *nig-šid-ak*); *^aU.AN* is not new, cp. *^aDIŠ.AN* in Schneider and Deimel; *^aIgi-za-kur*, cp. *^aIgi-kur-za*.

Drehem tablets are first class source material for information concerning geography, communications, ethnic groups, and cult centres in Sumer and nearby territories during Ur III. Under this head, if the texts published in the present volume have little that is entirely new they contain much that is significant when correlated with earlier information. This alone makes this volume most acceptable. The authors have helped much by valuable indices, including vocabulary.

T. FISH.

A HANDLIST OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS. (The Chester Beatty Library.) By A. J. ARBERRY. pp. 135, pls. 35. Dublin, Emery Walker, 1956.

The first volume of this handlist was reviewed in the *Journal* in 1955 and much that was said there applies to the present instalment. The plates are very clear and show a great variety of scripts, but there is no index to them. There is no attempt to classify the contents; the two halves of *al-Kashshāf* (not parts of one MS.) are 3253 and 3337 instead of being side by side. There is no index of subjects, so one has to look through the whole book if one wants to find if the library contains a work, e.g. on farriery. For this purpose the index of titles is practically useless as title is no sure guide to contents.

A. S. TRITTON.

ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN AL-MUNAJJID, edit., ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN AL-ṢAFADĪ, UMARĀ' DIMASHQ FI 'L-ISLĀM. DAMASCUS, 1955 A.D. (1374 H.), pp. 221. Publications of the Arab Academy of Damascus.

Dr. al-Munajjid's edition of this minor work of a well-known historian

is competently executed, but as he himself says the chief value of the main text, a biographical dictionary of the governors of Damascus, lies in its forming a sort of register (*dabṭ*). Nor was this the first compilation of its kind, for the editor discusses in his preface previous collections of a similar nature. The biographical dictionary seems to exist in a single copy only, but the *urjūzah*, on the same theme, following it, has been collated with a *sharḥ* in Paris. The *urjūzah* which claims to deal with the Caliphs, Kings, and Lieutenants, is in the usual doggerel characteristic of the mnemonic type of verse; the editor has supplied it with useful marginal cross-references to the corresponding biographical entries in the dictionary, for the *urjūzah* treats of the governors in chronological order. Dr. al-Munajjid provides us also with a biography of al-Ṣafadī (*flor.* 697–764 H.), notes on the MS. and methods following in his edition. Eight useful indexes or appendixes are supplied which turn the volume into a manual rather after the style of Lane-Poole or Zambaur. As a work of documentation this text has evidently seemed to Dr. Munajjid worth while editing but, apart from this consideration, it has no great intrinsic interest.

R. B. SERJEANT.

ERNST DIEZ [AND] OKTAY ASLANAPA: *TÜRK SANATİ*. Istanbul, 1955. pp. 4 + 343, about 560 figs., incl. some unnumbered plans. Publication of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Istanbul, No. 627.

In 1946 Professor Diez published his *Turkish Art* (in Turkish), the first substantial book to be written by a Western scholar on this subject. In a few years it was out of print, and Professor Oktay Aslanapa, who translated the original into Turkish, has now actively collaborated in producing a second edition. The contributions of the two scholars are kept clearly separate: the part written by Professor Diez is printed in ordinary 10 point type, and the chapters and paragraphs contributed by Professor Aslanapa—some quite substantial in scope and size—are printed in 8 point type. The innovation is as interesting as it is practical, and might with advantage be imitated by other joint authors.

The volume covers Turkish art at its widest, starting with the pre-Islamic period and following up the subject in all its ramifications as far as Siberia and India. Pride of place is given to the Seljuqs and the Qaramanlis. The art of the latter—about which the two authors, together with M. Koman, published a monograph seven years ago—is here set for the first time in its proper perspective. About two-thirds of the volume are devoted to architecture, a special chapter to Sinan, paragraphs of various lengths to other builders, and the remainder to minor arts, with special stress on Seljuq figurative sculpture, textiles, and faience. A bibliography (20 pp.) and a detailed index (6 pp.) conclude the richly illustrated volume.

To come down to details: the name of the master of the minbar of the Great Mosque of Bursa is not Mehmet Abdülaziz ibn Dakiva (p. 121), but—retaining the transcription of our authors—M. ibn A. el-Dikki or el-Ladiki (cf. Hartmann, *OLZ*, 1932, col. 594, and Wittek, *ibid.*, col. 593); the name of the ivory-carver who made the mirror (fig. 539) can be read in several ways, most probably it is 'Ainî, but certainly not Ghani (p. 296), since there is a stroke too many for the latter reading; Muḥammad al-Wazirî, the master of the bronze mirror (fig. 517), cannot be identical with Muḥammad b. az-Zain, the master of the so-called "Baptistère St. Louis" (p. 289), the late M. Aga-Oglu, who first convinced himself that the two men were really one person, never proving this gratuitous assumption (cf. Rice, *BSOAS*, 1950, pp. 370-372); Kelûk b. 'Abdallah, the architect of three mosques in Konya, is not identical with Kâlûyân, the architect of the Gökmedrese in Sivas (p. 75), neither the name nor the style of the building nor the phrasing of the inscription allowing of such an identification (cf. Mayer, *Islamic Architects*, 1956, pp. 78 f.).

Nothing is easier than to criticize a bibliography attached to a handbook or a general survey of a subject. What one specialist considers indispensable, may easily appear superfluous to another. But ignoring what might be considered sins of commission, one wonders why the anonymous history of the Nuru Osmaniye Mosque (the only monograph of this kind extant in Turkish literature), Mehmed Fuad Köprülü's series of articles on Turkish artists in *Iqdâm*, the works of Rifki Melul Meriç, Sermet Mukhtar, Behaettin Ögel (all well known to our authors), are omitted from the bibliography altogether. Nor is the principle of selection very clear: if Ismail Hakki's volume on inscriptions of Tokat is listed, why not the second part dealing with those of Afyon Karahisar? If Mamboury's guide to Istanbul, why not his guide to Ankara?

Publications like *Fotoğrafla Türkiye*, *Güzel Sanatlar*, *La Turquie Kemaliste* and its successor *Türkiye*, have proved how excellent Turkish photography and book production at their best can be. May one express the hope that the next edition will reach the same standard?

Since Turkish is a beautiful, but fairly difficult language, the book in its present garb will remain closed to many students of Islamic art, which is a pity. It would be a real service to scholarship if it could be translated into English or French.

L. A. MAYER.

WATER INTO WINE. By E. S. DROWER. pp. 273 + 18 plates and 24 figs.
John Murray Publishers, Ltd., London, 1956. 25s.

Lady Drower has already put students of religion in her debt by her work on the rituals of the Mandaean, and in this book she increases

our obligation by furnishing a careful and detailed study of ritual in other churches in the Middle East: Jewish, Russian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox, Jacobite, Armenian, Nestorian, Chaldean, Coptic, and Abyssinian. The book is based on observation, and the varied material it contains could have been gathered only by an inquirer endowed with Lady Drower's integrity, sympathy, and profound courtesy of mind; and by one who had the advantage of years of residence in the Middle East. The aim of the book is twofold: partly to conserve by recording, at a time when "a tendency to discard ancient ceremonies . . . is spreading from secular practice to religious ritual, so long immune and sacrosanct". (p. 2); partly to seek a pattern underlying ancient rituals, including the Christian mass, by concentrating on one element, namely the ritual use of food and drink, date and pomegranate, nuts and fish, herbs, water and milk, but above all bread and wine. The minute, carefully-ordered actions in the preparation of the food, especially in the baking and breaking of bread and the gathering and pressing of grapes, have been patiently and plainly recorded, and the liturgical accompaniment indicated. By the time the reader has followed the author to the end of her quest, he begins himself to feel the ancient tyranny of the exact observances, so sympathetically studied. Lady Drower looks beyond the details of the ever-repeated rituals to their underlying significance as "an expression in dramatic and symbolic form of faith in life resurgent" (p. 258). She comments illuminatingly, but the chief value of the book lies in its store of scrupulously-recorded fact.

MARY BOYCE.

THE TEACHINGS OF THE MAGI. By R. C. ZAEHNER. pp. 156. Allen and Unwin, London, 1956. 10s. 6d.

The method adopted by Professor Zaehner in this brief exposition of Sasanian Zoroastrianism is wholly admirable. After a short and lucid introduction, he devotes a chapter each to various aspects of the religion: a standard catechism, the fundamental belief in the two Spirits, cosmogony, man's first parents, ethics, sacraments, the hereafter, etc. In each chapter his exposition is followed by the translation of a Pahlavi text (several not previously translated) to provide authority for it. Thus there is solid ground always under the reader's feet, and he enjoys the whole way the double advantage of an experienced guide, and access to the primary sources. The author is in the main a generous spokesman for the Good Religion, stressing its noble aspects, and especially the unshakeable faith in the goodness of God. It is impossible not to regret the poetry and vision of early Zoroastrianism, neglected perforce in this study of it as an established and deliberately moderate state-religion, but clearly Gathic and Sasanian Zoroastrianism could

not be compassed in a single volume of this series. A legitimate criticism would appear to be, however, that although the author states in his introduction (p. 10) that he has tried to avoid texts with obviously Zurvanite tendencies, in chapters 4 and 5 he does in fact draw on texts which he has himself shown elsewhere to be Zurvanite, thus imputing to orthodox Zoroastrianism Zurvanism's gloomy view of woman. There is, moreover, some controversial material here (i.e. the theory of a union between Gayomard and the demon Whore) which hardly seems in place in a book for the general reader. But these are minor points. In general, one can only acclaim this well-designed and pithy study.

MARY BOYCE.

THE KITĀB NAQD AL-ŠĪ'R OF QUDĀMA B. ĠA'FAR AL-KĀTIB AL-BAĠDĀDĪ.
 Edited by J. A. BONEBAKKER. Printed for the Trustees of the
 "De Goeje Fund". No. 17. pp. x + 80 + 162. E. J. Brill,
 Leiden, 1956.

Interest in Qudāma b. Ja'far was much stimulated when Dr. Ṭaha Ḥusain and 'Abd al-Ḥamīd 'Abbādī published in 1933 the *Naqd al-nathr* with its echoes of Greek rhetorical theory. The spuriousness of the ascription of this work to Qudāma has been fully established, along with its identity with the *Kitāb al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān* similarly assigned to Qudāma on the title-page of MS. Chester Beatty 3658. Dr. Bonebakker has now given us a careful critical edition of Qudāma's genuine *Naqd al-shi'r* by collating the four extant manuscripts and taking into account the *editio princeps* of Istanbul 1302. He has enhanced the value of this task by prefixing to his text a detailed study of the life and authentic writings of Qudāma, including a discussion of his relation to earlier literary theorists and the influence of Greek philosophy on his critique of poetry. It is interesting to find that "the *Rhetorics* and *Poetics* of Aristotle have left no clear trace in the *Naqd al-Ši'r*", though both works could have been available to him in Arabic translation. It may be mentioned that the manuscript on which Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd chiefly based his edition (Cairo 1351) of Qudāma's *Jawāhir al-alfāz* (see Bonebakker, p. 7) is now in Sir Chester Beatty's possession (MS. 3791). Dr. Bonebakker is to be congratulated on a fine piece of work in the best tradition of Dutch orientalism.

A. J. ARBERRY.

COMMENTAIRE DE LA QASIDA ISMAÉLIENNE D'ABU' L-HAITHAM JORJANI.
 Texte persan édité avec introduction et esquisse comparative en
 français par HENRY CORBIN et MOHAMMAD MO'IN. (Bibliothèque
 Iranienne, 6.) Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1955.

The curious Isma'ili *qaṣida* of 76 couplets in which Abu 'l-Haitham

Jurjānī, an obscure Persian poet of the 4/10th century, propounded a series of cosmological and metaphysical problems was already known, thanks to Professor Corbin, from the use made of this poem by Nāṣir-i Khusrau (he found it in a somewhat variant recension of 82 couplets) in his *Jāmi' al-ḥikmatayn*. Professor Corbin, in collaboration with his Teheran colleague Professor Muḥammad Mu'in, has now published the commentary on Abu 'l-Haitham composed by his disciple Muḥammad ibn Surkh of Nishāpūr. In an extensive introduction he compares this older commentary with Nāṣir-i Khusrau and discusses its place in Persian Isma'īlī literature; this provides opportunity for a fresh examination, to which Professor Corbin has already contributed so fruitfully, of the relationship between Isma'ilism and philosophy and the attitude of theosophy to natural science, historical theory, astrology and the supernatural world of angels and prophets. We are already so deeply indebted to Professor Corbin for his brilliant and systematic exploitation of newly-discovered source-materials for the investigation of early Isma'īlī speculation that little more needs to be added to this brief notice of his latest contribution, than to express once more our admiration and our gratitude, together with the confident hope that he will find the means to continue in the future his extraordinary productivity of the past.

A. J. ARBERRY.

DAS BUCH DER WUNDERBAREN ERZÄHLUNGEN UND SELTSAMEN GESCHICHTEN. Edited by HANS WEHR. (Bibliotheca Islamica. 18.) pp. 19 + 516. Wiesbaden, 1956.

The table of contents in an Arabic manuscript in Stambul gives a list of 42 tales but only the first 18 survive. Of these four are in the *Arabian Nights* and others or parts of others were known before the discovery of this book. It has no title, no author's name, and there is no framework story. It seems to have been written 700-750 A.H. and so is practically the oldest MS. of this type of tale. It has been suggested that it is a selection from the 480 stories collected by Jahshiyari but the editor points out that events after his death seem to be mentioned. The tales vary in character and quality; some are frankly comic while no. 7, the tale of a woman, who brought disaster on every one near her, can be called moral, for at the end the king points the lesson that all who trusted her were fools and deserved what they got. The language is like that of the *Arabian Nights* with many modern forms and some modern constructions. But the verse is often closer to standard Arabic: not always, for in places it can be scanned only by omitting the case endings; the poetasters were not always masters of the standard language. The MS. is not a good one and in spite of many emendations in the notes there is a long list of addenda in which some of the suggestions look obvious. The book is a rich mine for the student of folk tales.

A. S. TRITTON.

LES KURDES : ÉTUDE SOCIOLOGIQUE ET HISTORIQUE. By BASILE NIKITINE, with Preface by Professor LOUIS MASSIGNON. pp. viii + 360, 15 sketch maps, 12 plates. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1956.

This must be the most comprehensive single book on the Kurds in any language, and it is deplorable that M. Nikitine should have had to wait twelve years to find a publisher. Thanks are now due to the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* for sponsoring a work which will be welcomed not only by the author's colleagues in the field of Iranian studies. Here it is not possible to give more than a very summary indication of the ground covered.

After two chapters devoted respectively to the controversial question of racial origins and to geography M. Nikitine proceeds to a detailed examination of the various aspects of Kurdish society in general: way of life (nomadism, hunting, agricultural and pastoral practice, economy), the family in camp and village (customs, costume, food, the place of women, birth, marriage, and death), the tribe (organization, status and duties of the chief, communal distractions), and so on. Chapter 7 contains interesting information on certain territorial and tribal groups but seems to have been severely pruned, no doubt for reasons of space. A brief historical survey is followed by an account of the nationalist movement (which culminated in the short-lived international recognition of Kurdish political aspirations in the abortive Treaty of Sèvres) and a postscript on the present status of the Kurds in Persia, Iraq, Syria, and the Soviet Union. Finally there are two excellent chapters on religion, folk-lore, and recent cultural and literary activity.

Great care has evidently been devoted to the preparation of the fifteen very useful sketch-maps, the bibliography of nearly four hundred titles, and the index.

C. J. EDMONDS.

LIVES AND LEGENDS OF THE GEORGIAN SAINTS. Edited and translated by D. M. LANG. pp. 180 + 1 map. George Allen and Unwin, 1956.

Lives of saints and martyrs are apt to be monotonous lists of attempts to break records in asceticism or to invent exquisite torments for martyrs. The stories here collected often stray from the beaten track of hagiology; Georgian monks were as fond of fertile estates as those in the west and, if the tales exaggerate the political importance of their heroes, who will blame their writers. This is a "popular" book consisting of translations each of which is introduced by a note giving all essential information about the text. One tale is unusual. David of Garesja persuaded a dragon to leave the country and, as it was afraid of thunderbolts, promised to watch it till it had reached the crest of

the next mountain. He kept his promise but the angel of the Lord called to him, so that he turned round and, the moment he took his eyes off the dragon, a thunderbolt destroyed it. The saint felt that God had not treated him fairly, for the dragon had trusted him. It had to be explained to him that the dragon would have made its way to the sea, eaten so many fish and grown so big as to be a danger to ships. New to the reviewer is the idea that a man should wish to be buried in the place where he was baptized. These tales give a vivid picture of Georgia balanced precariously between Byzantium and Persia, drawn to the first by ties of religion but forced to obey the nearer neighbour and giving hostages to both. The few details about Muslims are correct. A caliph is called 'Abdullah; that was his name but he is always called Mansur, so that one wonders if the Georgians got the name right or misunderstood the '*abdullah*', "Servant of God," with which official documents began, whatever caliph issued them. Many subjects are touched on incidentally, Jews, trade guilds, and the attitude of Muslim governors to Christianity. One wonders how the Jews are connected with the tunic of Jesus; has this anything to do with the Holy Coat of Trier? The outline life of Jesus in one story suggests that the *Diatessaron* was known in Georgia because the order of events is so different from that in the canonical Gospels. The last martyrdom recorded here took place in the 17th century. The book ends with two pages of bibliography and an index and can appeal to widely differing interests.

A. S. TRITTON.

DAS BUCH DER VIERZIG STUFEN. Edited by ERNST BANNERTH.
(Oesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Sitzungsberichte,
230) Vienna. pp. 96. 1956.

'Abd al-karīm al-Jīlī is the author of this Arabic tract for beginners. 'Steps' seems an odd name for a compendium of sufi theology and cosmology but it fits, for the book begins with God and works down through the heavenly powers to nature to rise again to man, the microcosm. The volume contains a short introduction, 29 pages of Arabic text, translation and notes. The MS. from which the text is taken is a unicum but nothing is said about the editing. On p. 16 the text has *nur* but the editor has rightly translated *dwr* though there is no means of telling whether *nur* is a mistake in the MS. or a misprint; it is not the only one. On p. 24 *tashkīk* is read and translated *Unsicherheit*, a doubtful rendering, whereas *tashkīl* is the word wanted. In places the translation avoids difficulties or seems to be wrong, e.g. p. 28 ll. 4.7 and p. 37 l. 19. The notes are full and to the point.

A. S. TRITTON.

STUDIEN ZUR MITTELBABYLONISCHEN GRAMMATIK. By JUSSI ARO. *Studia Orientalia* XX. Helsinki, 1955. pp. 175.

This book is the work of a young Finnish scholar, who has had the benefit of the instruction of several eminent Assyriologists, namely Professors A. Salonen, W. von Soden, I. J. Gelb, B. Landsberger, Th. Jacobsen, and A. L. Oppenheim. The task which he set himself was to supplement such investigations as have already been published on the subject of the Babylonian language in the Middle Babylonian period, by concentrating on those sections of the grammar which had been less thoroughly treated by his predecessors. The inflexion of the nouns and verbs had already been exhaustively discussed by others, notably by S. J. Bloch in *Orientalia*, N.S. 9, pp. 305-347, and here it was necessary to deal only with various irregularities and abnormalities, while simply referring to the earlier work for the treatment of the normal forms. This book therefore deals most fully with the following aspects of the language: orthography, phonology, pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, and syntactical features such as infinitive constructions, the use of the particle *-ma*, and dependent clauses. The discussions of these matters are furnished with exhaustive documentation from the available texts of the period, including incidentally the translation of several difficult passages. At the end there is a useful summary in tabular form of the main differences between Old and Middle Babylonian. Mr. Aro is to be congratulated on this methodical treatise, which will become a standard work in the field of Akkadian grammar.

O. R. GURNEY.

A FAMILY IN EGYPT. By MARY ROWLATT. pp. 232 + 22 plates. Robert Hale, 1956. 18s.

Five generations of English people, not always in the male line, lived and worked in Egypt as traders or government servants. The earlier ones lived in tents on the seashore during summer where there is now a great suburb of Alexandria, and a woman, who died in 1903, had looked from her nursery window to see Muhammad 'Ali. This book is a hotch-potch; anecdotes about the families pass over into scraps of history, and memories of the writer's own childhood lead to current history. A servant, who had been a slave, would not stay with the family because he was kept awake at night by the ghosts of English and French soldiers who fell at Aboukir. There are scraps of folklore; on Thursdays and Fridays the dead leave the abode of bliss in Jerusalem to meet their relatives at the cemeteries; the *khamisin* wind is a reminder of the 50 days during which Cain carried the body of Abel about, seeking a place to bury it. The English children had a grand time on the seashore at Alexandria or in a garden in Cairo with birds and insects to watch, though scorpions and snakes were a danger and in

the earlier days there was always the risk of cholera and plague. Neat phraseology lends point to pictures of humble life; a child, little more than a baby, addresses an errant buffalo in the tones of a sergeant-major and in language that would startle most sergeant-majors. An old man in traditional dress, whose character did not belie his saintly appearance, came regularly to do the family ironing. One day a youth in European dress came in his place; the old man had died and his son succeeded him as by right and was as satisfactory as his father had been, for a little western education had not spoilt him. As an example of what an Egyptian can do is given a summary of the autobiography of Taha Husain, a peasant's son and blind who became minister of education. One may hope that this will send some readers to his book, *An Egyptian Childhood*. Miss Rowlatt is too kind to Qalawun; most sultans began their reign by abolishing illegal taxes.

Delight in the land and the people pervade the book; country life seen from the outside and townsfolk on holiday are described affectionately. There is no attempt to hide the ugly side of life but it is not pictured for its own sake and much is made of efforts, both private and public, to deal with the plagues of ignorance and disease with full recognition of the obstacles in the path. There is criticism of English rule; one example is by a Burmese, and much of it would be approved by a Scottish nationalist. The Egyptian of this book is a simple, kindly man and excuse is found even for the touts, who pester visitors, because they have families to keep. One of them complained: "If I tried to do a deal with a tourist on the top of the great pyramid, a policeman would be waiting for me at the foot."

A. S. TRITTON.

ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. Edited by L. NEMOY. pp. 273. facs. 8. Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1956.

The table of contents shows that the 1,682 items are arranged according to subjects. There is an index of autographs, indices of authors and titles and a concordance of catalogue numbers and press-marks.

HANDLIST OF ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN LEIDEN AND OTHER COLLECTIONS IN HOLLAND. Edited by P. VOORHOEVE. pp. 540, facs. 6. Leiden.

This is a list of manuscripts and microfilms arranged in no apparent order. There is an index of authors.

ÉTUDE DESCRIPTIVE ET COMPARATIVE DU GAFAT (ÉTHIOPIEN MÉRIDIONAL). By WOLF LESLAU. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1956. pp. xx, 277, 2 maps. Price 2,200 francs.

The Gafāt lived formerly to the south of the Blue Nile, but the

Galla invasion of the sixteenth century drove them across the river into Dāmōt. As long ago as 1845 Beke recorded that their language was on the eve of extinction; and to-day it is understood by only a very few people. Gāfāt is a Semitic language, and belongs to the South Ethiopian group comprising Amharic, Argobba, Harari, and Guragē. Some linguistic material was provided by Bruce (1790) and Beke (1845), that of Bruce including a MS. of the *Song of Songs* (now in the Bodleian, Dillmann no. 33). On the basis of this material and of his own extensive researches in the Gāfāt country, Dr. Leslau has built up a detailed study of the language, the first instalment of which appeared in his *Gafat Documents* (1945), where he dealt mainly with the *Song of Songs* and the linguistic material it contains; the study is completed in the work under review.

The title of the book sufficiently indicates its character. The grammatical features are described succinctly, with comparative material interpolated in smaller type, and there is a useful résumé of the chief grammatical forms. Dr. Leslau's remarks on representing gemination are eminently sensible: "le signe de longueur serait plus approprié pour une consonne geminée, mais pour des raisons typographiques il est plus simple d'employer une consonne doublée" (p. 23). The Gāfāt-French vocabulary of eighty pages is a valuable part of the book; it provides comparative material from the Semitic languages of north-east Africa as well as from Hebrew and Arabic. There is also a French-Gāfāt word-list. The book deserves careful study, for it contains much interesting material which cannot be dealt with in a short notice.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

GEORGE STRACHAN: MEMORIALS OF A WANDERING SCOTTISH SCHOLAR OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By G. LEVI DELLA VIDA. pp. vii + 110, 9. University of Aberdeen, The Third Spalding Club, 1956.

The interest shown by members of the Spalding Club of Aberdeen towards their adventurous compatriot has combined with Professor Levi della Vida's expert knowledge of the Italian archives and oriental manuscript collections to produce this absorbing and scholarly biography of George Strachan of the Mearns, a Catholic exile from Calvinist Scotland who served as physician-in-ordinary to a Bedouin amir before becoming in Persia a friend of Pietro della Valle. Strachan's valuable Arabic and Persian manuscripts were brought home by missionaries and about half of them now repose in the Vatican, Naples, Cambridge University Library, and British Museum collections; on these manuscripts Professor Levi della Vida gives detailed and helpful notes.

D. M. LANG.

LEBENS BESCHREIBUNG DES DESPOTEN STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ VON KONSTANTIN DEM PHILOSOPHEN. Im Auszug herausgegeben und übersetzt von M. BRAUN. *Slavo-Orientalia*, Bd. I. pp. ix + 69. The Hague, Mouton ; Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1956.

Stefan, son of the Despot Lazar of Serbia who fell locked in battle with Sultan Murad at Kosovo in 1389, reigned until 1427. His biography, covering a critical period in Balkan, Byzantine, and early Ottoman history, was composed by a Bulgarian rhetor at the Serbian court and later utilized by the Russian annalists. Dr. Braun now re-edits key passages of this important document, with German connecting narrative and translation, and reference to the Russian redactions where this serves to clarify the original.

D. M. LANG.

THE SULTANTEPE TABLETS. By O. R. GURNEY and J. J. FINKELSTEIN. pp. vi + 13, 142 plates. The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Occasional Publication No. 3. London, 1957. £1 15s.

The discovery of a minor "library" of Assyrian tablets in a great but still unidentified mound, Sultantepe, at a considerable distance from the known Assyrian centre at Harran, has been one of the more unaccountable, but ever welcome, gifts of Near-Eastern archaeology. Much information about these tablets had already been given in a lecture and separate articles by Dr. Gurney, who has merited the gratitude of scholars not only by those and the present publications, but by much skilled and patient work in the recovery and reassembly of the tablets into the fine examples of the cuneiform-writers' art which they must now be ; one regrets the absence of specimen photographs. That writing of this quality should be the product of, apparently, a provincial school speaks highly indeed for the training of Assyrian scribes. The edition here under notice is in this respect as in others well worthy of its originals, for the copies of Dr. Gurney and of Dr. Finkelstein, though they can be readily distinguished, are clear and, in different degrees, of handsome appearance.

As the first volume of a projected whole publication, this part consists largely of the Assyrian classics, which were revealed first in the remains of the royal library at Nineveh, and have been variously but on the whole not extensively restored and augmented by other discoveries during the past hundred years. Sultantepe brings notable additions to several of these works and transforms the ideas hitherto entertained of others. It also has contributed some novelties, including a new literary *genre*, the entertaining story for its own sake (no. 38), and two curious "historical" documents, one (no. 43) an embellished account of the wars of Shalmaneser III, the other (nos. 40-2) a

"letter" from Gilgamesh himself, here described as "[king] of Ur, son of Kullab" (Gilgamesh has certain other connections with Ur), requiring great supplies of cattle and precious metals from another ruler, in a manner which recalls the demands of his predecessor Enmerkar for valuables from Aratta to adorn the temples of Erech—those also were delivered in epistolary form by a live messenger.

About one-third of the published material consists of miscellaneous religious texts (prayers and rituals), many of which belong to and supplement known series and classes of texts—these are accurately defined by the editors in their list of contents which, brief as it is, conveys much information. The final division is of medical texts, in which the collection seems to be rich: among the most interesting are nos. 92, 93, names and descriptions of plants and of their uses in healing, to which may be joined no. 103, careful descriptions of the outward appearance of minerals, which must be of the greatest assistance for identifying these.

C. J. GADD.

India, Pakistan & Ceylon

SITE URBAIN ET SITES FUNÉRAIRES DES ENVIRONS DE PONDICHÉRY.

By J.-M. and G. CASAL. pp. 99, figs. 39, plates xxxii. Paris, 1956.
Price 1,500 fr.

This report deals with further excavation at the site of Virapatnam-Arikamedu and the unearthing of burials at various cemetery sites. The former was undertaken to clear certain buildings, possibly in a better state of preservation than those previously excavated, and to establish the limits of occupation, but it adds little to what is already known. Nothing that was recovered other than the structural remains is recorded; there are plans of buildings but no sections. Plates II and V do little to resolve the complicated relationship of walls J and K during two periods of modification (p. 6), and the muddle of bricks, pits, and storage jars shown on Plate VII needs clarification by a clearly drawn section. Admitted the strange sandwich-like succession of L 1, 2, and 3, where two dwelling floors give place to a shop, is described on p. 7, there is nothing in fig. 2 to show that L 2 and 3 did not exist side by side. A number of ring-wells and cisterns, which, following Wheeler's tentative identification, are called dyeing-vats, were unearthed.

Urn burials were excavated at Mouttrapaléon, producing interesting iron tools and weapons and red and black pottery of types familiar from Adichanallur. The site of Souttougèy produced a megalithic cist burial with porthole slab, containing a pottery legged sarcophagus and some interesting bronzes, well illustrated by photographs and

sections, but for two burials with pottery sarcophagi there are neither. Surface indications of a neolithic site with stone axes were recognized at Gaurimedu. Plans, photographs, and illustrations of pottery and metal work are all excellent.

D. H. GORDON.

HISTOIRE DE LA LANGUE SANSKRITE. Par LOUIS RENOU. (Collection "Les Langues du Monde", Vol. X.) Pub. : IAC Paris and Lyon, 1956. pp. 248.

This account of the development of Sanskrit literature, lucid and succinct, is written primarily for the student and scholar, to whom the packed references in text and footnotes will furnish the clue for following up any feature that attracts special attention. At the same time the reader with a general interest in Sanskrit culture, as distinct from the philologist, will find a new appreciation of a familiar background, enlivened by the aptitude of the illustrative passages from the Sanskrit texts translated. Professor Renou vigorously resists the view that post-Vedic Sanskrit was a purely artificial language into which the epics were translated from the Prākṛit, but appears to admit that a direct line of evolution can be traced from Vedic poetry and prose to Pāli, and does not claim that Sanskrit was ever a spoken language in the same sense as Latin. (The collateral problem of when precisely Sanskrit evolved from an oral to a written literature is not discussed.) It is remarkable how much detail is comprised in so compact a summary of the course of Sanskrit literature from the Vedic writings through the epics to the Inscriptions and on by way of later Kāvya and drama to the Buddhist hybrids and a brief mention of Sanskrit outside India. There is something novel in the attention paid to the stylistic values of the technical writers, and the few pages devoted to the "Dhvani" theory "L'Art de suggerer" are probably the best brief summary of this school of criticism yet to appear. But this is rather at the expense of the equally important principle of Sanskrit poetics that the object of poetry and above all of drama is to give experience of specific emotional reactions, a principle which the later theory by no means superseded.

WALTER GURNER.

SINHALESE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION (KANDYAN PERIOD). By RALPH PIERIS. pp. 311 + xiv, 1 map, and 5 figures. The Ceylon University Press Board, Colombo, 1956. Rs. 10.

This is a well documented volume prepared with much deliberation and care by the Head of the Department of Sociology in the University of Ceylon, who has consulted a large number of specialists and experts.

An exhaustive bibliography is also added. The work, thus, claims to be "the first comprehensive account of Sinhalese society in the Kandyan Period, that is in the three centuries prior to the British occupation of the interior of Ceylon". This analysis of the social order is divided into a number of topics: (1) Government including kingship, the royal retinue, officers, and regional administration; (2) the village, its composition, and land tenure; (3) revenue and service; (4) legal system and administration of the law; (5) social stratification or "caste system"; (6) kingship and marriage. There is a seventh part which deals with all these separate aspects in one province, the District of Nuvarakalāviya, which constitutes the present Revenue District of Anurādhapura.

The author says (page 5) "the limit of investigation with which this book deals is the social life of a specific region during a given period of time". Except for the seventh part, the inquiry centres round the region close to Kandy. The period taken for inquiry, according to the chronology supplied (page 282), is A.D. 1591-1815. An examination of the sources, however, show that, except for a few stray references, the author is really dealing with the period immediately after the British occupation. In fact, for the chief subject of the book, "caste," the only authority earlier than 1815 cited is Robert Knox. For an estimate of the value of Knox's statements the reader is referred to C. R. Boxer, "Ceylon through Puritan Eyes, Robert Knox in the Kingdom of Kandy, 1660-1679," in *History Today*, October, 1954. The rest of the evidence is that of British officials and other foreign observers, who did not understand the country or the people except through those who supplied information to them and who, unfortunately, were persons who had taken upon themselves powers they had hardly enjoyed during the time of Sinhalese kings. All Sinhalese sources relating to the period have been ignored, except for the *Nitinighandūva*, a modern compilation of the nineteenth century. No MSS. of *Nitinighandūva* are known, but there are other valuable Sinhalese MSS. that give first-hand information regarding caste as it existed during the time of the Sinhalese kings. Not only the assessors to the early judicial commissions, but even such writers of the present century as A. M. Hocart, have relied only on hearsay in dealing with the social categories among the Sinhalese.

Buddhism did not acknowledge caste nor did the Buddhist accept that one human being was better or lower than another. Nor was "caste" among the Sinhalese based on the *Manusmyti*. The Sinhalese knew caste only as an occupational division, and this idea persisted even up to the latest centuries of the Sinhalese kingdom. "Good people" were not the opposite of "low castes", as Mr. Pieris states on page 171, but the "good people" were the opposite of "bad people" according to their deeds. In fact, every caste among the Sinhalese claims to be high—not higher than another, but high in its

own merits according to the true Buddhist spirit, and no caste is reconciled to serve "their betters", despite what Mr. Pieris says on page 170. It is this fact that has given the death blow to administrators and others who attempted to propagate caste among the Sinhalese. Again, our author says that a particular "social division" constituted the chief caste or the "good people". Here is an instance where Mr. Pieris has had to depend on the second-rate evidence of Davy (1821) and the *Nitinigahanduva* (see above for date), both later than the limit of 1815.

Mr. Pieris has rightly attempted to trace the origin and development of institutions such as kingship and land tenure from the historical evidence of the chronicles, inscriptions, and literature. It is rather surprising that a similar effort has not been made in the study of "the caste-system", which is the central pivot of the treatise. As examples of erroneous conclusions that result from the lack of historical treatment of this subject with due regard to Sinhalese sources one may point to several errors, such as those listed below: (1) *Agampodi* are not "a low-country tribe", p. 192; (2) *Kulamuhandiram vasama* are not "low-caste soldiers", p. 117; (3) *batgama* is not "a rice village" inhabited by low-caste persons (*padu*, Index); (4) *dēvayā* is not "a deity", p. 291; (5) *karāvō* is not the "fisher-caste" (Index); (6) Is Davy sufficient authority for the origin of *Gahalagumbadayō*? p. 187; (7) Mr. Pieris has not attempted to find out the meaning of the term *padu* although he uses it more frequently than any other caste-word. On page 186 he cites no authority for equating it with *batgama* as used during his period. The entire caste-system during the period of the kings of Kandy depended on the *rājakāriya* "the duty of the subject to the king", and as our author does not understand the exact significance of this word (see Index), he cannot claim to have understood the system of caste.

One cannot see any good reason for treating Nuvarakalāviya as "an isolated province". Most of the customs described in this chapter persist even to this day not only in the adjacent districts like Vavuniyā, Hatkoraḷē, and Tamankaḍuva, but also in several districts of the hill country. The relevant material from the Wickremasinghe MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) could have been incorporated in the other chapter under the respective headings. It must again be pointed out that this collection of writings on the customs of the Anurādhapura District is of very recent origin, some of its contents probably written by schoolmasters from the coastal provinces.

The get-up of the book, the printing and binding, are very attractive. It would have certainly added to the value of the volume if the same care had been exercised in its production. A few instances of want of care in arrangement may be pointed out. (1) The figures are not numbered correctly. (2) "Figure II" on page 88 on *Lit-lakuṇu* is out

of place. It has been borrowed from another publication, without any regard to context. (3) In the Bibliography A. L. Basham is presented as having produced learned papers relating to the archaeology, ethnology, and history of Ceylon during a period extending from 1883 to 1952. (Is he the author of *The Wonder that was India*, 1956 ?) (4) On page 205 the Sinhalese text and the transliteration do not agree. Typographical errors and mistakes in the spelling or transliteration of words and inconsistencies are so numerous that if a list of *errata* had been made it would have run to a number of pages. The very useful index could have been made fuller. Several terms found in the text, for example, *Agampōḍi*, are not found in the index. All Sinhalese words in the index should have been accompanied by their English translation. As it is, the English equivalents of the Sinhalese months are not given, and several words are wrongly or inadequately explained. As an example of the many inaccuracies one may point out the equation of *deviyā* (a god) with *dēvayā* (the headman of the Vahumpura community).

These inaccuracies and lapses have been pointed out in view of the importance of the subject dealt with, especially at a time when the whole social system of the Sinhalese is a very important question of current interest. We have a right to expect only the best and most authoritative from our author, and it is hoped that he will avail himself of the Sinhalese sources before he writes the next volume he has promised. In spite of the few shortcomings, the book is bound to raise interest among the students of sociology as well as any general reader interested in the history of Ceylon.

C. E. GODAKUMBURA.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF JÑANADEVA By B. P. BAHIRAT. pp. x, 220, 20.
Pandharpur Research Society, 1956.

Jñānadeva, the philosopher poet, died prematurely at the age of twenty-two in 1297. He produced among other works two important poems, the *Bhavārtha-dīpikā*, usually known as the *Jñāneśvarī*, and the *Amṛtānubhava*. The *Jñāneśvarī* is an interpretation of the *Bhagavadgītā* of the bhakti school which is famous throughout the Marathi-speaking world for its influence upon religious thought.

The philosophy behind the *Jñāneśvarī* is expounded by the less-known *Amṛtānubhava*, upon which Mr. Bahirat has based his book, the last third of which contains a very creditable translation. Preceding it is a sketch of the times of Jñānadeva, his life and works, his metaphysics, cosmology, the nature of Jīva, his conception of Bhakti, the influences on his philosophy, and the different interpretations of it. A comparison is made with certain western philosophies and an attempt is made to assess his position in Indian philosophy.

There are many interpretations of the philosophy of Jñānadeva, but few are agreed and several contradictory. The author considers none of them to be satisfactory.

Dr. Pendse identifies his metaphysic with that of Śankara, misled by the phrase Śankarī-vidyā, which refers to Śiva, not to the philosopher Śankara. Jñānadeva, in fact, denies Śankara's view that Avidyā or Ignorance possesses objective reality. Dr. Dasgupta points out that Jñānadeva calls the world Cidvitasa, the play of the Spirit or sport of the Absolute and restricts its unreality to the sense that it has no meaning apart from the Absolute, while it is real as a manifestation of the Absolute. Jñānadeva sometimes uses the conception of Māyā, as equivalent to Cidvitasa, meaning not illusion, but a true expression of reality.

Professor Dandekar regards Jñānadeva as a monist and closer to Śankara than Rāmānuj and Vallabha. But his monism is different from Śankara's. Professor Ranade rightly considers Sphūrtivāda as Jñānadeva's original contribution to philosophical thought. According to this doctrine, the world emanates from God, the Absolute, as a scintillation from a jewel and is as real as light. Ranade adds that Jñānadeva accepted Māyāvāda, but when Jñānadeva uses *māyā* in the sense of "illusion" he holds it to be an effect of ignorance, a negative state, which has not even empirical reality (the *vyavahārika satta* of Śankara).

The author's view of Jñānadeva's philosophy is that it is a dynamic system. The dynamic nature "is further accentuated by his adoption of a healthy, positive, and realistic outlook of looking towards the objects in the world. For him the world is not a mirage . . . God takes delight in manifesting and realizing himself through the infinite variety of forms of existence". His spiritual lineage is traced to the Nātha cult of Gorakhanātha and has affinities with Kashmiri Shaivism. So we find that although he is no Vaishnavite, Jñānadeva has been influenced in part by Vaiṣṇava doctrine. But his Absolute or Supreme God is Śiva or Śankara. His Bhakti does not involve the quietism of the Vaishnavites but fructifies by means of Bhakti-yoga, the practical devotion in which the devotee is a servant rather than a lover. His Śānta-rasa is the peace of mind brought by duty performed (*upāsana*). To Jñānadeva *bhakti*, *śakti*, and *vidyā* are synonymous or rather the three elements of a mystic trinity. He rejects the stark doctrine of power as an end in itself as well as the spinelessness of total surrender to spiritual love and combines the virtues of both in a practical synthesis which recognizes the world and makes use of it for spiritual advancement. His practical outlook is illustrated by his criticism of the Jainas, for eating uncooked food from fear of injuring a *jīva*. For in doing so, they injure their own lives, *jīvas* in a higher scale of creation.

Credit is due to the author for the publication of this useful book. His English is generally good, but he allows himself to write "negligence" for "neglect" and it is difficult to suppose that the persistent spelling of "tounge" for "tongue" is a mere printer's error.

ALFRED MASTER.

INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER LANGUAGES. By GEORG MORGENSTIERNE. Vol. III, The Pashai Language. (3) Vocabulary. pp. xii + 230. Oslo, 1956. H. Aschehoug and Co. (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning XL.) N. kr. 40.00.

This vocabulary is mainly based on material collected by Professor Morgenstierne on his linguistic missions to India and Afghanistan in 1924 and 1929, and adds greatly to our knowledge of Pashai. The etymologies proposed, though frequently tentative, will undoubtedly commend themselves to scholars, and prove not the least important part of the work. It is now clear that Pashai has a very mixed vocabulary, made up not only of Indo-Aryan words showing the usual Dardic developments (some from roots attested in Sanskrit only in the Dhātupāṭha, e.g. *śa:r-* < *śat-*, *kaṇḍ-* < *kaṇḍ-*, *su:r-* < *suff-*), and the expected influx of Persian and Pashto loan-words, but also borrowings from other Indo-Aryan, including non-Dardic, languages, e.g. *sus-*, from a dialect with *s* < *ś*, *ṣ*; and *oc-*, though Pashai *c* is regularly < *coh* not *kṣ*. The frequency with which a non-Sanskritic *r* must be postulated in proposing etymologies, e.g. *ala:x* < **abhakṣra-*, *plo:wo* < **svapra-*, *leṣṭem* < **śrastrī-*, must demand caution in using the Dardic languages as a help in proto-Indo-Aryan reconstructions.

Complaints are few and of no great importance: there seems to be no good reason for abandoning the etymology previously proposed (in Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan, p. 26) for *läihen* (< **grihn-* < *grhn-*) for although the Aśokan inscriptions show *gahin-* not **grahin-*, the Niya Prakrit has a form *gr̥heyāti*, implying the pronunciation *gri-*: the designation of long vowels in transliterated Sanskrit by (:) instead of (-) is disconcerting: there are some misprints, e.g. *wlHso* (p. 27), *mukka* (p. 118) is wrongly asterisked, *su:kara* (p. 159): the absolutive form *hani*, although quoted in the grammar appended to Vol. III, 2, Texts, p. 294, is omitted under (*h*)*an-*.

These minor points, however, in no way diminish our debt of gratitude to Professor Morgenstierne for this most important publication.

K. R. NORMAN.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE AND ART—MIRRORS OF INDIAN CULTURE. MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 73. By C. SIVARAMAMURTI. pp. vii + 125, 25 plates, line illustrations. Delhi: Government of India Publications, 1955. Rs. 16/12 (26s.). Dr. Sivaramamurti, Superintendent of the Archaeological Section

of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is not only an eminent authority on Indian art, but also a first-rate Sanskritist, with a very wide knowledge of India's classical literature. In the present work he has turned both his accomplishments to good account in a series of significant comparisons between descriptive passages of Sanskrit literature and early Indian works of art, both in sculpture and painting. Among the subjects of his study he has considered many aspects of life and art, from the graceful and naturalistic postures in which the female form is depicted, and which he shows to be echoed in the numerous descriptions of the heroines of literature, to musical instruments and elephant fights.

The author has shown that many of the themes of art are to be found, expressed in a different medium, in courtly Sanskrit poetry and drama. In their handling of the erotic both art and literature reflect the urbane tradition of the *Kāmasūtra*. The two systems of creative expression echo one another not only in their treatment of the gracious ways of court life, but also in their handling of war; for in a vigorous battle scene from Amarāvati the warriors are shown to be fighting according to the precepts of the Epics and of Manu on the conduct of *dharma-yuddha*, or righteous warfare, waged according to a chivalrous code of fair play in battle.

This is not the first attempt at bringing Indian art and literature together, but the field of study has hitherto been comparatively little worked, perhaps largely because it demands qualifications in two fields of study, which few students possess. Further studies such as this will do much not only to deepen our understanding of both early Indian literature and art, but also to throw light on many practical aspects of the everyday life of ancient India which are at present not satisfactorily explained.

As might be expected in a work of this kind, the book contains numerous pages of plates, and many extracts from Sanskrit literature of varying length. Many of the plates are rather blurred. The literary passages are given in clear nāgarī characters in the text, with English translations in footnotes in very small type. Since many, if not most, of Dr. Sivaramamurti's readers will know no Sanskrit it might have been an advantage if the translations had been given in the text, beneath the Sanskrit originals. It is regrettable that the translations are so pedestrian; it is impossible to reproduce the rich splendour of the originals in English, and in a learned study of this kind any translations given must obviously remain quite faithful to the sense of the originals; but in a work to which so much affection has clearly been devoted it is a pity that the English of the translations is often clumsy, and not infrequently unidiomatic.

A. L. BASHAM.

CHANGING SOCIETY IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN. A Study in Social Change and Social Stratification. By A. K. NAZMUL KARIM. pp. xii + 173. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

This thesis by a lecturer in Political Science at Dacca University, E. Pakistan, is a straightforward, well-documented account, from the economic angle, of the impact of British rule on social conditions in India and Pakistan, particularly East Pakistan. The constitutions and industries of village and town communities, their various social classes, both Hindu and Muslim, in pre-British India are clearly and succinctly described, and there is an enlightening chapter on Indian feudalism explaining how the European conception of feudalism should be applied to Indian conditions. It is the author's contention that pre-British India remained static down the centuries because Indian feudalism unlike European failed to overcome its traditionalism and so to develop capitalism and create any social mobility. Shortly before the advent of the British, however, a change was taking place under the impact of Mughal rule. But the disturbed conditions of a crumbling empire prevented a move towards capitalism from coming to function. In considering the economy of great Asian States generally what appeals to Mr. Karim as a possible "very fruitful area for further researches" is the so-called "hydraulic theory" developed by Karl Wittfogel and his associates in America, i.e. the great part played by irrigation in the rise of such states. On the structure of the village community the impact of British administration with its legal codes, educational institutions, and industrialism was bound to be profound. Under British rule arose a new middle class of traders and shopkeepers (the bourgeoisie) and the professional classes; and eventually of course the proletariat. Mr. Karim discusses these factors and others of material importance competently in his informative and interesting survey, from the economic standpoint, of a large and fascinating subject. The thesis deserves an index.

W. A. GARSTIN.

VYAVAHĀRACINTĀMAṆI. By VĀCASPATI MĪŚRA. A digest on Hindu legal procedure. Critically edited with introduction, annotated translation, and appendices by Dr. LUDO ROCHER. pp. xiv + 414. Gentse Orientalistische Bijdragen, 1. Ghent (Offset-typo L. Vanmelle), 1956.

A well-chosen author, a laboriously-settled text, a lavish edition with an apparatus which gives the non-Sanskritist an excellent introduction to a work which the Sanskritist can conveniently appraise: this production compels gratitude and arouses hopes for the future of ancient Indian legal studies on the Continent.

Readers of Vācaspati's work on substantive law, the *Vivādacintāmaṇi*

(trans. Jha, Baroda, 1942), may be disappointed to find his treatment of adjective law comparatively thin. It is only when he comes to the requirements of a plaint, the different kinds of defence, the effects of evidence deviating from the plaint or defence which it is intended to support, and the evidential value of possession, that he shows to full advantage his skill in reconciling conflicting *smṛtis*. His treatment of ordeals is uninspired, and his discussion of "dependence" at the very end of the book seems to indicate a deficiency of method.

Granted that the text is of prime historical importance, comparative lawyers will wonder to what use such a work was put when it first saw the light. Before the British period professional advocacy was unknown and legal advice was obtainable, if at all, in a haphazard fashion. On broad lines court-procedure was strictly traditional, though we are not justified in labelling it "primitive": but so much depended upon the manner in which it was handled that the scope for advice was very limited. If a dispute actually came to court the judges, who were judges of fact as well as of law, whether in criminal or civil causes, tried their best to persuade the loser to accept the outcome of the mixture of ritual and speculation which he had just undergone. This work is an example of a judge's handbook. It told him not merely how to conduct a trial but also how to settle the issues, to evaluate the evidence, and to infer answers to the issues from the material investigated. The task which this book intended to facilitate was heavy in that the parties were not permitted to question each other's witnesses, the plaintiff had no right of reply, pleadings were settled in open court without scope for free amendment, and the court first determined which side should lead its evidence and normally arrived at a decision without hearing the other side's witnesses: in other words the judge, aided by nothing but the light of nature and such academic treatises as *Vācaspati on Procedure*, carried the (to us rightful) burden of anticipating the outcome before verifying the favoured party's case. It is not easy to make up one's mind whether this was a more, or less, embryonic feature than the dramatic argle-bargle out of which Anglo-Saxon judicial techniques developed. Anyhow the standard of subtlety expected of such a treatise would be much higher than that which we expect from a modern textbook, and this explains in part why it is so difficult to read continuously.

Such matters Dr. Rocher does not normally comment upon, and instances may be quoted where more detailed exegesis would have aided the lay reader. In § 72 Kātyāyana says *grhīta-grahaṇo nyāyo na pravartīyo mahābhujā*: we ought to be told that the word *grahaṇa* means an object seized illegally by the complainant to force his opponent to bring the real dispute before a court; in § 289 a son of a female *śūdra* and in § 297 a mother's sister's son and a maternal uncle among others are stated to be ineligible as witnesses: we ought to be

let into the apparent secret why they were objectionable ; and in § 718, where customs contrary to equity (*nyāya*) are said to be fit to be ignored, a comparison between the relative forces of law and custom (a far from simple matter) was required.

Very occasionally mistranslations occur. At § 246³² the words *abhiyoga-hetu-bhūtopaghāta-draṣṭā upahantavya-sīmāsetvādi-śrotā grāmādi-sthaḥ* are translated, "the resident of a village etc., who has observed the damage that is the cause of the plaint and who has heard about the boundary, the dam, etc., that may have been damaged . . ." Of course this type of witness has to be qualified (i) in point of having observed the offence when it was committed, (ii) in point of having overheard the malefactors planning to destroy the boundary, bridge (or "bund") or whatever it might be, and (iii) in being a local man in respect of both qualifications. Finally one may object to the editor's habit of multiplying confusing over-abbreviations. But the brilliance of his enterprise will not be dimmed by these blemishes.

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT.

BEGINN DER PHILOSOPHIE IN INDIEN. By W. RUBEN. pp. xii, 338. Akademie Verlag Berlin, 1955. D.M. 12.

The author emphasizes in his Preface his new approach to Vedic and Vedāntic literature. In his opinion the philosophical texts of the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, and Upaniṣads have so far been interpreted and translated merely from the idealistic point of view, whereas he stresses the historical and realistic attitude. So his translations are in a matter-of-fact and dry wording which often takes away the charm and flavour of the texts. His historical outlook is influenced by present-day historical circumstances. The problem remains whether the Vedic literature, born and developed under different conditions, can rightly be interpreted in this way. For there is a standpoint different from that represented in this book. Firstly, the peculiarity of Indian thought is effaced when the controversial axiom is upheld that East and West developed on identical lines. This is doubtful so far as ancient Western (Greek) and Indian literature is concerned, but more so when classical Indian literature is assumed to follow ways analogous with more recent trends of Western thinking. The reviewer can accept neither the many verdicts on "priesterlicher Unsinn", or nonsensical magic of Indian priests, nor the rejection of many passages as unintelligible. The author disapproves of the series of macro-microcosmic equivalence being sometimes changed and sometimes given with omission of one or the other member, but this typically Indian vagueness and changeability of enumerations cannot flatly be evaluated as incorrectness in thinking or in tradition ; it has to be explained from the fundamental Indian conception that every single object, everything endowed with a

single name and form, is but an accidental symbol of the one and only underlying materio-spiritual substance. Any part and any combination of parts can stand for the whole.

Again. Can all "isms", e.g. the Idealism, Illusionism, Materialism, Hedonism, and Realism of Western coinage, be transferred to a world of thought which defies the fixation and separation of Western terminology? India thinks in "*sive-sive*", in co-ordinated "this and that and that"; the West, on the other hand, thinks in "*aut-aut*", in disjunctive one-sided "either . . . or".

Professor Ruben gives to each specimen of his translated texts clear-cut captions and subsequent annotations—a useful pedagogical device, but again following his controversial presuppositions.

Another difference of opinion can arise with regard to the so-called "wrong etymologies", so often and so consistently applied in Indian texts. True, for many of the etymologies here given are philologically unsound. However, are we entitled to condemn them outright, as Professor Ruben does? Is there not also a psychological and epistemological factor to be considered? Precisely because the wrong etymology (of which the outsider—and probably also the Indian writer himself!—is aware) has been consistently repeated, there must have been valid reasons why, at the time of writing, this interpretation was felt to be necessary and just. Wrong etymology may be psychologically and epistemologically valid etymology.

We have to be grateful to the author for his learned quotations and parallels given from other Vedic texts for the understanding—in the author's sense—of the passages in hand. Professor Ruben stimulates the general reader, and more so the specialist, by his new and consistent approach. Controversy is the stimulus for further research.

BETTY HEIMANN.

DER SAMAVĀYA IM NYĀYA-VAIṢEṢIKA SYSTEM. By GIOACCHIMO PATTI, S.J. Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der Indischen Metaphysik und Erlösungslehre. Roma, 1955. Pontificio Istituto Biblico, pp. xi + 162.

These studies are based on a thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Berlin.

From the methodical point of view Father Patti's work is a welcome contribution to the understanding of Indian logic. It is especially valuable because of its detached statements. *Sine ira et studio*, with hardly a trace of any predilection for Western solutions, the problems and their treatment are clearly outlined. In consonance with his thorough training in Aristotelian and scholastic systematics the author inspects from a well-established platform, and with an expert's eye, the Indian construction, built on a different, but equally firm, founda-

tion. Thanks to his deep understanding of the problems in hand he is able to express himself with lucidity, conciseness, and simplicity.

In his introduction he stresses the difference between Western theological and Indian religious foundations. India's religious ideal of self-liberation originates from non-theistic or poly-theistic axioms. Even Indian logic and physics (Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika), though starting as realistic systems, aspire to this supra-empirical end, thus in a *salto mortale*, as it were, removing their own preliminary basis. Self-salvation more than Salvation through the Grace of a personal God achieves the attainment of the goal. The personal god, *Īśvara*, introduced later in theistic Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, supervises the fruition of merit and demerit accumulated by the individual Karma-bearer and gains the rank of a kind of overseer without becoming a spontaneous free agent in the attainment of individual liberation. Furthermore, the chief divine function, that of Creation, remains in India only a subordinate concept. Instead of a uniqueness of the world, a mere continuity of successive worlds is assumed. Thus the Indian god is deprived of two of the main functions of Western theology: self-liberation and creation from pre-existent matter limit His free agency.

As in the theological sphere, so also in the logical, India, according to her inherited trend of thought, devalues the importance of "Person". The Indian theory of causation, with its stereotyped similes of the potter and the weaver, views the agent as only one of the instrumental causes. As the author rightly emphasizes, the Indian theory of causation and Karma is seen more from the material aspect than from the viewpoint of the acting person. As such even Self-liberation is more a material process, which, when once set into motion, develops quasi-mechanically without the possibility of being stopped half-way by the interference of a human or divine person.

Clear as in all his other statements, Father Patti also outlines the historical development within early Nyāya and early Vaiśeṣika systematics up to their later unification. Convincing again is his classification of the main Indian philosophical systems with regard to their common basic problems. Father Patti lays bare the closer relationship between Vedānta and Sāṅkhya, the middle position of Buddhism, and the affinity of problems and treatment in Mīmāṃsā and in the two realistic systems of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika.

The ambiguity of Indian philosophical terms naturally leads to some problems of interpretation. For instance, *vyatireka* is differently interpreted by the author on p. 30 and p. 146, once as "separation" and once as "cessation". *Yuti* is consistently translated by him as "separation", while the ambiguous (double root ?) root *yu* may also suggest the meaning of "conjunction". *Rūpa*, too, is always explained by him as "colour", and not in its wider and more general sense as "form". One may here recall the Vedāntic use of *rūpa* in its axiom

nāma-rūpa which epitomizes all empirical phenomena as endowed with name and form.

The main topic of Father Patti's present studies is the concept of *Samavāya*, inherence, which he rightly distinguishes from the accidental and momentary *saṃyoga*, connection. The author stresses the interrelation between the problems in inherence, causality and Karma and rightly emphasizes their typically Indian range of psychological, ontological, ethical, and materio-ontological implications.

In short, this thesis is most informative and mature in its objectivity of outlook and thoroughness of thinking and study.

BETTY HEIMANN.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY. By JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA. pp. xxxvii and 653. pls. xlviii. University of Calcutta, 1956.

The old manuals on Hindu iconography are still useful for their general information on the various forms of the deities and for their illustrations. Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography* is especially valuable for its wealth of illustrated material, much of which remains unpublished elsewhere. Of the earlier authors, however, Jouveau-Dubreuil alone attempted to show the historical development of the iconographical types: his work in South India was invaluable, though no one has tried to fill in the details of the clear outline he established. Professor Banerjea made the same attempt for pre-medieval North India in the first edition of this book (1941). His conclusions, based on a careful study not only of sculpture but also of coins and seals, must be respectfully considered by all interested in the birth and early development of the various Brahmanical cults.

The present volume is a revised and enlarged version of Professor Banerjea's earlier book, long out of print. It is nearly double the size of the 1941 edition. In addition to much other material, four long and detailed chapters have been added. One deals with Ganeśa, Kārttikeya, Laksmī, and Sarasvatī, who, in the author's opinion, rose from the ranks of the Vyantara Devatās or folk deities. The second and third chapters cover the major Brahmanical deities, Vishnu, Surya, Śiva, and Śakti. The fourth chapter includes various miscellaneous cults—of Brahmā, the Aṣṭadīpālas, Ayadhapurūṣas, and others—and certain syncretistic icons. These chapters contain a mass of useful information on the medieval and earlier periods. They need to be read carefully, for it is rather difficult to find one's way about them. It is easier to follow a close argument when the evidence of the texts and that of the monuments is kept distinct until the attempt is made at a final synthesis.

This book may well be the last of the general statements on icono-

graphy. The time has now come for a detailed analysis of the iconographical developments in each artistic province of India. This remains the real problem, the solution of which will be of value to the student of religion and the art-historian alike. Mlle de Mallmann has tackled this problem in her admirable study of Avalokiteśvara. Let us hope that Professor Banerjea will attempt to do the same service for a Brahmanical deity.

The first edition was poorly illustrated. This has forty-eight plates, each with several reproductions. Many of the pieces were previously unpublished: those from Mayurbhanj and Khiching are particularly welcome. There is one error in the captions. The figure on Plate xlvii, 2, is said to come from Bihar. It is, of course, a Cedi piece of the eleventh century.

DOUGLAS BARRETT.

THE LOVES OF KRISHNA. In Indian Painting and Poetry. By W. G. ARCHER. pp. 115 + coloured frontispiece and 39 pls. (Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West No. 18.) George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1957. Price 30s.

This work sets out to interpret the impact of the infancy and erotic phases in the cult of Kṛṣṇa on schools of Indian painting from the end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. A mysterious feature of this cult is that the name of Rādhā, though casually mentioned in association with Kṛṣṇa as early as the second century A.D. plays no effective part in the cycle, till suddenly given prominence in that swan-song of classical Sanskrit, the Gīta Govinda of Jayadēva, a thousand years later, when it acquires a dominating influence. (Kālidāsa for instance knows of "Viṣṇu in cowherd guise" but never mentions Rādhā.) Mr. Archer's treatment naturally therefore falls into two parts. He presents the Kṛṣṇa story as comprised in the Mahābhārata with the Harivaṁśa and the Bhagavata and Viṣṇu Purāṇas, in a lucid summary, which, while making no claim to original scholarship, furnishes the English reader with a new and useful synopsis of these legends. For the later phase he quotes extensively from George Keyt's translation of the Gīta Govinda (not hitherto accessible in this country) and from translations of the derivative poems both in Sanskrit and in the vernacular. These are illustrated, if the word may be used, by a selection of Indian miniatures from the Moghul to the latest Punjab schools. The chapter on Indian painting, together with the technical notes attached to each reproduction, both contribute to a further understanding of schools of painting discussed in Mr. Archer's earlier works and do something to explain the fusion of religious and erotic moods in painting as interpreted by the Indian artist. The predominance of one mood or the other in any particular

work or school will always depend on the artist's personal feeling; but perhaps more allowance should be made for the influence of the conventional erotic themes in Sanskrit literature, each phase of which is represented in scenes of the Gīta Gobinda. The writer has interesting comments on the amoralistic features in the Kṛṣṇa cycle, a problem which indeed can only find its solution in a deeper philosophical study than is the object of this monograph. Above all, the work is a reminder that so long as these schools of painting flourished the Kṛṣṇa cult was a living reality for the court and social circles which they served. Mr. Archer's display of the Indian paintings in his keeping in the Victoria and Albert Museum has added new lustre to a corner of London's art treasures and we must be grateful to him for this further assistance in approaching them at the highest level of appreciation.

WALTER GURNER.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGN OF ASOKA MORIYA. By P. H. L. EGGERMONT. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1956. pp. x + 222.

Among the results of a renewed interest in the Mauryan period of Indian history is this very able study. The material used by the author has been worked on before, but Dr. Eggermont's interpretation produces a more convincing and feasible narrative of the period than that of earlier students. The relevant portions of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*, including the *Upasampadā* lists contained in the former chronicle, are examined in great detail, and their evidence compared with that available in the edicts of Aśoka. Borrowings by the Ceylonese monks from the Purāṇa chronology are also discussed. The "Dotted Record" of Canton, a somewhat neglected document, is again brought into prominence.

The author dates Aśoka's consecration in 268 B.C., and rejects the interval of four years between the accession and consecration of Aśoka given in the Ceylon chronicles. These chronicles take 218 years after the Buddha's nirvāṇa as the date of Aśoka's consecration, which is shown to be in fundamental agreement with the data of the Purāṇa lists. On the basis of the Canton Dotted Record, which places the death of the Buddha in 486 B.C., this would give 268 B.C. as the date of the beginning of Aśoka's reign. Further, from classical data it appears that the 13th Rock Edict of Aśoka, written in his twelfth regnal year, must have been inscribed in or before 255 B.C. This again gives 268 as the first year of his reign. This evidence, however, is not conclusive, as the Dotted Record may not be absolutely precise, and the Edict may not have been inscribed exactly in 255 B.C. But Dr. Eggermont has produced further evidence on the basis of astronomy. We are told in the *Aśokāvadāna* that just before Aśoka's pilgrimage there was an eclipse of the sun. From the Rummindei Pillar Inscription

we know that this pilgrimage took place in the 19th year of his reign. The date of the eclipse has been calculated as 4th May, 249 B.C., which date would again give 268 B.C. as the year of Aśoka's accession. The author's impressive arguments are assisted by two very useful synoptic tables.

Dr. Eggermont has also attempted to reveal the veiled chronology available in the chronicles. For example, he suggests that the story of Aśoka's conversion by the seven-year-old Nigrodha is really a reference to the event taking place in the seventh year of his reign. The miraculous view of Jambudvīpa afforded to Aśoka according to Buddhist legend is really based on the fact of his pilgrimage to Buddhist sites.

The interpretation of the term *sambodhi*, occurring in the Aśokan edicts, as "a visit to the Bodhi-Tree", and not as "enlightenment", may now be accepted. Although the P.T.S. Dictionary does not give this meaning, the use of this word in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, as Dr. Eggermont points out, makes it amply clear that it may refer to the Bodhi-Tree. The interpretation of the 256 nights mentioned in the edicts as being the period Aśoka spent on his pilgrimage seems equally acceptable.

The development of these ideas appears to be less certain when Dr. Eggermont comes to discuss the conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism. He believes that there was a definite conversion, which took place one year before the Kalinga War. It would seem more plausible to suggest that there was no definite conversion at this date, but rather an ideological attraction on the part of Aśoka towards Buddhism. It is to be regretted that Dr. Eggermont has left unsolved the riddle of how the Schism Edict can be reconciled with Aśoka's erstwhile policy of complete toleration.

R. THAPAR.

THE PATH OF PURIFICATION (*Visuddhimagga*). By BHADANTĀCARIYA
BUDDHAGHOSA, translated from the Pali by BHIKKHU ÑĀNAMOLI.
Colombo, 1956. pp. xlix + 886 pages.

It would be difficult to recommend this work of mature and solid scholarship too strongly to those who want to read what is probably the Ven. Buddhaghosa's masterpiece in an authoritative translation which has rightly profited from the unflagging study of Pali subjects during the last few decades. The Ven. Ñānamoli's rendering is intelligible and dignified throughout and, considering the formidable nature of the text and the lack of recognized English equivalents for many of its numerous expressions for ideas, concepts, and mental states, it leaves but little to be desired. He himself fully deserves the praise he bestows on the author of whom he says: "His work is characterized by relentless accuracy, consistency and fluency of erudition" (p. xx), for such are the marks of this translation.

The Introduction, well-grounded and shrewd, is mostly concerned with the reasons, sometimes admittedly conjectural, but usually convincing, why the Ven. Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon to undertake Pali literary composition in the Mahāvihāra; with the sources of information about him; with the order in which he wrote and "published" his works and his own disciplined lack of originality; with some of the main threads in the *Visuddhimagga* and its relation to other works, including the *Vimuttimaggā*, and so on. There are discriminating footnotes. The full Index of Subjects and Proper Names gives the Pali word beside each English entry; and the valuable Pali-English Glossary includes the device (which will be useful in the future) of marking such words as are not found in the Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary, to the "inestimable general value" of which the translator pays due tribute.

B. HORNER.

Islam

PSYCHOLOGIE D'IBN SĪNĀ (AVICENNE) D'APRÈS SON ŒUVRE AŠ-ŠIFĀ'.
ÉDITÉE ET TRADUITE EN FRANÇAIS PAR JÁN BAKOŠ. Vol. I,
Texte arabe. pp. 270. Vol. II, Traduction et notes. pp. ix, 245.
Éditions de l'Académie tchécoslovaque des Sciences. Prague, 1956.

Ibn Sīnā wrote about the soul in a number of brief tracts, but these are overshadowed by the exhaustive study of the subject contained in his famous philosophical encyclopædia *al-Shifā'*. Of the four great sections into which the *Shifā'* is divided, the second deals with Physics (*ṭabī'iyāt*) and comprises eight "categories" (*funūn*) of which the sixth is Psychology, and in this edition covers 260 pages. For him, as for most ancient Greek thinkers and their Islamic followers, psychology was of basic importance in dealing with problems of philosophy and of natural science; and so, following Aristotle, Avicenna treats the subject as belonging mainly to the realm of natural science, soul being viewed as essential to any living piece of creation, vegetable, animal or human, the primary form by which the body's substance is actualized and made an organic whole. Hence, as he states at the outset of his discourse, for the study of this psycho-somatic union, knowledge of the soul tells more about bodily conditions than knowledge of the latter can tell about the soul, although each assists the other. Beginning with proofs of the soul's existence and an account of its diverse faculties, Avicenna then reviews the different kinds of perception, the senses of touch, taste, smell, and hearing, following this with a long discussion of theories concerning sight and light. He then examines the "interior senses" (*al-ḥawāss al-bāṭināh*), imagination, memory, judgment, and goes on to consider the rational and indestructible soul of man which differentiates him from all other

creatures. Then follows a discourse on the degrees of intellect, including the possibility of the soul's escape from the body into complete union with the Active Intellect, a subject he promises to discuss later. The work ends with an account of the physical organs, primarily the heart, through which the faculties of the soul function, using the *Pneuma (rūḥ)* as their vehicle, as taught by Galen and other physicians of the ancient world. Appended to the translation is a useful commentary elucidating some 700 passages in the Arabic text, usually with relevant quotation from the text of Aristotle's *De Anima* and other Greek works on philosophy and on medicine. The British Museum, the India Office Library, and the Bodleian have between them furnished five manuscripts upon which the text is based, and use has also been made of the Teheran lithograph of 1886. In view of the difficulties inherent in Avicenna's argument and terminology the editor has done well to be lavish in recording textual variants, and to make ample use, in translating technical terms, of A.-M. Goichon's *Lexique de la Langue Philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*. Occasionally in the text he queries a reading, as on p. 201, l. 1. Here surely the sense requires لا يسى and not لا يسى.

In the next line the second word seems a misprint. The work is a welcome contribution towards clearer knowledge of how the Aristotelian psychology came to pervade Islamic philosophy and thence became the dominant influence on Latin scholasticism. The two volumes are produced in pleasing form, with well-proportioned pages and excellent type, both Arabic and French.

A. S. FULTON.

MAHOMET. By MAURICE GAUDEFRY-DEMOMBYNES. (*L'Évolution de l'Humanité*, No. 36.) pp. xxiv + 708. Albin Michel, Paris, 1957. 2,400 fr.

There can be few books written by nonagenarians in any language, yet at the age of ninety-four Professor Gaudefroy-Demombynes has produced no slender volume of reminiscences but a lengthy work of scholarship. For this alone the book would be remarkable. Even those who know nothing of its origin, however, will find it worthy of consideration for its intrinsic merits. It might be described as complementary to the author's *Muslim Institutions* and likely to take its place along with that as the standard introduction to the aspect of Islamic studies of which it treats. Slightly over a third is devoted to the life of Muhammad, the rest to a study of the message of the Qur'ān. In the first part a careful course is steered between the excessive scepticism of scholars like Lammens and the mere repetition of traditional anecdotes. The author thinks that there are often genuine historical memories behind the anecdotes and that careful selections, even if all

legendary material is not excluded, enable the modern reader to form some conception of the man. He has followed this principle, and the result is a balanced and sympathetic account. The second part deals with the conception of God, universal history from the creation through the prophets to the Last Judgement, and the beliefs and duties of Muslims. Attention is paid in passing to later interpretations and developments. In the final editing and in proof-reading the author has had the help of Professor Claude Cahen of Strasbourg.

W. MONTGOMERY WATT.

THE CONCEPT OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN ISLAM. By RAHIMUDDIN KEMAL. pp. 140. Fasé Brothers, Hyderabad, 1955.

This book is disfigured by many misprints, the English is in places hardly intelligible, and the transliteration of Arab names is painful. The author begins from the Koran and shows that Muhammad formed a community which afterwards became a state though a Muslim community need not be a state. He argues that a state may consist of Muslims and "others" in varying proportions, though the Koran says that "others" can be only second class citizens in a Muslim state. He says that the Koran condemns slavery; it does not, but what it says about the treatment of slaves can be justly interpreted by a more enlightened age as condemnation. Some of his remarks should call down condemnation as endangering *tawhīd*. The author idealizes the time of the orthodox caliphs and later ages, reading ideas of the present century into those periods. An Indian Muslim said: "Only one Indian asked for legitimation by the caliph and he was mad." It is confused thinking to say that religious thinking lasted till Muhammad when it was replaced by empirical thinking. There is a useful list of Arabic books on the subject.

A. S. TRITTON.

Buddhism

LES PREMIERS CONCILES BOUDDHIQUES. By A. BAREAU. Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes, tome LX^e. Presses Universitaires de France, 1955. pp. xii + 150. 1,000 fcs.

By a close re-examination of the numerous conflicting accounts which tradition has handed down about the first four Buddhist councils, Dr. Bareau hopes to separate the historical facts from the legendary accretions. The first council of Rājagṛha, which is said to have fixed the Canon of the Scriptures, is according to him "quite obviously a legend", that cannot go back further than at least a century after

the Nirvana. Against Professor Demièville the second Council, which at Vaiśālī condemned the lax practices of the Vṛjiputrakas, is here represented as an actual historical fact, and so are the two gatherings at Pataliputra which must, however, be considered as local synods rather than universal councils.

Dr. Bareau on many occasions challenges the interpretations of Przyluski, Demièville, and Hofinger, and the conclusions of his predecessors can from now onwards no longer be regarded as fully established. During the last 30 years the traditional accounts of the Buddhist Councils have given rise to much speculation about the geographical distribution of the sects in early times. Bareau now tries to show that these were "completely unfounded", that the different sects coexisted nearly everywhere, and that they were "distributed by parishes and not by provinces". He is too good a scholar not to admit that his own inferences are merely "probable", and they are offered as no more than a "contribution to further research" in this field. While always interesting, his argumentation is in fact nowhere really cogent. It is bound to confirm a number of readers in their belief that nothing tangible is known about the early history of Buddhism. The old legends, invented in India, have in recent years been further overlaid by a new set of legends emanating from the Sorbonne, and Dr. Bareau's excellent review of the available evidence will prevent these new thought-constructions from hardening into the appearance of established facts. The controversy has been reopened, and as yet no rock or firm earth has been laid bare beneath the quicksands of Indian historical tradition.

EDWARD CONZE.

BUDDHISM: A "MYSTERY RELIGION"? Jordan Lectures, 1953, by PAUL LÉVY. University of London, Athlone Press, 1957. 18s.

The doubts, speculations, and controversies that for the last century or so have turned on the Council of Rājagṛha, can only be intensified by this interesting and provocative book. The very question-mark in its title indicates its challenge. Professor Lévy has two main contentions. The first is that in Cambodia, Siam, and Laos, for example, the ordination ceremonies into the Buddhist Order of monks share various ritual features with initiation into a mystery religion. But while the secrecy and the physical violence meted out to candidates are extra-canonical observances antedating the developed social structure from which Buddhism sprang, other features in its recognized ordination tradition are also shown to contain ritual elements. Professor Lévy's second contention is that "the successive mythical elements in the Council" have their parallel in "the various rites of ordination" (p. 74). Though he admits that it is difficult to imagine "what

constitutes the connection between these two groups of facts" (p. 76), in analysing several of the events concerning Ānanda's admission to the Council he takes him to typify the candidate for initiation, and Kāśyapa to typify the "president". Their personalities, moreover, were used "for a historical dramatization of the great annual reunion of *varṣa*" (p. 82); and this is even more true of the baffling character of Gavāmpati in whom the ox predominates and the circumstances of whose self-cremation prove him to be the "most faithful of the Buddha's disciples". The material that Przyluski collected about this "mythological entity" (p. 87) is here reviewed and supplemented. The data marshalled in this readable book, the author's interpretation of them, and his resultant reassessment of the First Council certainly open new doors, whether or not one finally agrees that the Buddha's "compassion . . . should be studied and understood as . . . the core of a great ritual drama" (p. 108).

I. B. HORNER.

Art & Archæology

CHINESE PORCELAINS FROM THE ARDEBIL SHRINE. By JOHN ALEXANDER POPE. pp. xv + 194, 142 plates. 11 × 8½ in. Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, 1956.

"Some thirty miles west of the Caspian Sea, not far from the Persian border, the town of Ardebil stands on a plateau almost 5,000 feet high, where since ancient times it has prospered by virtue of its commanding position at the crossing of two major avenues of trade." Thus Mr. John Pope begins his fascinating tale of the Chinese collections so long preserved in this Persian border town.

The great ceramic store of Ardebil is part of a gift made in 1611 by Shah Abbas to the Shrine of Sheikh Safi of that town at the time of its dedication to the founder of the Safavid Dynasty. An account of the benefaction has been preserved in the writings of the chief astronomer of the Court in a year-by-year manuscript record of the history of Iran from 1595 until after the date of the gift.

Time and circumstance have taken their toll of the Ardebil treasures, and the ceramic collection, which originally totalled 1,162 objects, has been reduced to 805 in number. These figures should not, however, suggest that little store has been set by this gift. For as Mr. Pope tells us, it was thought important enough to have an Arabic dedicatory inscription carefully (and not inartistically) engraved on almost all of the pieces, and it was even thought necessary to include an inventory of the benefaction in the record of its dedication.

Although the Ardebil shrine has been visited a number of times by various travellers, the work here reviewed is the first full-scale attempt

to present to the public a systematic and scholarly study of the historical accumulation of Chinese ceramic wares there preserved. These range in date, Mr. Pope tells us, from the fourteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Of this great store, 595 specimens, or more than three-quarters of the total, are of blue and white ware, and it is this enormously important and largely homogeneous corpus of ceramic material that the author discusses in 142 pages of well-printed text, and illustrates with 109 splendid plates. Sixteen pages and twenty-eight plates are devoted to the remaining 180 specimens in the Collection, eighty of which are of white, fifty-eight of celadon, twenty-six of other monochromatic wares, and twenty-three of polychromes, as well as a plate of illustrations of three comparable specimens from other sources. In addition, the author has given us a useful appendix of statistical notes, a comprehensive bibliography, and a well-compiled index.

Undertaken with the assistance of a host of willing and able collaborators, the work has taken six years to prepare. It would have been a comparatively easy task to have prepared a purely descriptive and statistical inventory of the Collection. But the author has attempted and achieved far more. Having travelled widely, examining and studying collections of relevant material, discussing them from many angles with all of the world's leading authorities, and sparing no pains or expense in the task, he has still found time to give the subject a great deal of constructive thought and reflection, and has produced a book which should remain a standard work on Chinese blue and white for years to come.

The value of this book depends, in a sense, on the very commonness of the blue and white wares which it sets out to examine and discuss. Chinese blue and white of one type or another is to be encountered almost everywhere in the world, rivalling the old so-called *martabani*, or celadon ware, in the extent of its distribution. It is only as a result of an intensive study of this enormous body of material that worthwhile conclusions can be arrived at. This Mr. Pope has done, and with great credit to the institution of which he is the Assistant Director.

The whole of Mr. Pope's argument hinges, he himself has declared, on the two Yüan blue and white vases, inscribed and dated 1351, in the Percival David Foundation. Sir Percival David acquired these when there was by no means any general agreement about the authenticity of their inscriptions. The late Mr. George Eumorfopoulos was reluctant to the last to accept them as products of such an early date, because of what he called the sophistication of their complex decorative design. With him many students of the subject agreed, with the consequence that room was found for only one of these by no means identical vases in the great International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London in 1935-36, although the late R. L. Hobson

had already published them as authentic. The large Hung-chih blue and white vase, now also in the Foundation, inscribed and dated to the year 1496, which Mr. Pope justly describes as a "key piece", was not even included in that Exhibition, so little was it thought of some twenty years ago. To-day this last specimen has come to be regarded as a veritable signpost in the vast, almost trackless field of research into blue and white wares of late fifteenth century date.

Mr. Pope, who has given these three specimens the closest possible study, does not hesitate to accept them from every point of view, and takes the opportunity of making a careful analysis of the distinguishing physical characteristics of each member of this small group. For the first two specimens he elaborates his earlier premise that their decorative repertory should be "regarded in a general way as the fourteenth century blue and white style". And indeed, as he further demonstrates, the Yüan vases cannot stand alone. Applying certain well-considered tests of decorative style, form, and foot formation, he proceeds to ascribe thirty-seven of the specimens in the Ardebil Collection to the fourteenth, 212 to the fifteenth, and 346 to the sixteenth century.

In one of the most significant chapters in this book, "The Evaluation of Chinese Sources," Mr. Pope deals with the all-important subject of reference to Chinese authorities. He quotes Sir Percival David with approval on the value which the latter has always attached to reference, wherever at all possible, to first-hand sources. Mr. Pope in his turn shows how unsatisfactory it is to rely on such eighteenth and nineteenth century anthologies as the *T'ao shuo* and the *Ching-tê-chên t'ao lu*, valuable though they are. In almost all cases, Mr. Pope has succeeded in his quest for first-hand sources of citations in those anthologies. He regrets, however, that he was unable to consult the important *Chiang-hsi ta chih*. The section on pottery in this book, which is the source of a long and important list of Chia-ching wares cited in the *T'ao shuo*, is as he has conjectured a reliable repertory of types produced at the time. An original edition of this rare book is not, however, impossible to consult to-day. A fine copy of it is preserved in the *Naikaku Bunko*, the Imperial Cabinet Library in Tokyo, which with Sir Percival David, I was able to visit on our recent trip to Japan. We have photostats of the section on ceramics in this as well as in another edition of the same work.

Mr. Pope is perhaps unduly harsh on the authors of the *T'ao shuo* and the *Ching-tê-chên t'ao lu* when he says that an opinion expressed by them on a Yung-lo or Hsüan-tê bowl carries no more weight than a critical analysis by Horace Walpole of a painting by Giotto (p. 29). These Chinese authors, unlike Walpole, seldom indulge in expressions of their own critical opinions; when they do, such expressions can usually be traced back to the *dicta* of earlier, sometimes much earlier, writers. Horace Walpole's delightful adimadversions were of course

largely his own. But our Chinese anthologists have assembled an invaluable store of citations from earlier sources, some of which might otherwise have remained unknown to us. That their citations should be examined with meticulous care was part of the theme of Sir Percival's paper on Ju Ware in 1937. But that they should be regarded on that account as no better than eighteenth century table-talk is not justifiable. Chu Yen and his colleagues may well have spent their evenings over a few pots of the yellow wine of Shao-hsing, writing verses, painting landscapes, and passing around for admiration some newly-acquired object, as Mr. Pope so delightfully pictures them (p. 30). But they also laboured hard to leave a body of invaluable reference material, without which many a modern Western work on the subject might never have seen the light of day.

Over two pages of his text (pp. 134-6) are devoted by Mr. Pope to the so-called "Magic Fountain" in the repertory of ceramic art design, and to Sir Percival's recent article attempting to identify it. The subject seems to have vastly intrigued our author; but nowhere in his book does he reveal the sub-title of the article, "An Exercise in Illustrational Interpretation." The point made in the final paragraph of this article, in which the significance of its sub-title is specifically referred to, was that the identification had been advanced as a possible interpretation in the hope that other constructive hypotheses might be put forward, if the present one proved unacceptable. Mr. Pope expresses his disagreement with the proposed identification, and after reference to a number of works treating of the arts of the Renaissance in Europe, suggests that the design was an importation of the Jesuits into China in the late sixteenth century.

Of course it is well known that the Western style fountain, which formed an architectural feature of a part of the Yüan-ming Yüan, was such an importation. But this palace was constructed at too late a date to have influenced the creation of the so-called Magic Fountain design. A Jesuit missionary writing from Peking in 1775 says: "L'Empereur regnant, Prince de génie & avide de connoissances, ayant vu en 1747 la peinture d'un jet d'eau, en demanda l'explication au Frere Castiglione, & s'il y avoit à la Cour quelque Européen en état d'en faire exécuter un semblable. Ce Missionnaire Artiste, dont la modestie a tant illustré les talens, sentit toutes les suites d'une réponse positive, & se borna prudemment à dire à Sa Majesté qu'il iroit sur le champ s'en informer dans toutes les Eglises. Mais l'Empereur s'étoit à peine retiré qu'un Eunuque vint dire que si quelque Européen étoit en état d'entreprendre un jet d'eau, il eût à la conduire le lendemain au palais. Ces dernieres paroles dans le langage de la Cour, étoient un ordre de trouver quelqu'un à quelque prix que ce fut. Nul Missionnaire ne s'y méprit, & tous jetterent les yeux sur le Pere Benôit." (See *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses*, 1781, Vol. XXIV, p. 401.) Now, if

we were to accept Mr. Pope's suggestion, it would mean that the sixteenth-century Jesuits in Peking had neglected to convey to the Court, with which they are known to have been in close touch, their knowledge of the design of a Western fountain. As a result of this ignorance in China, the Emperor Ch'ien-lung over a century later was obviously so intrigued by the picture of the strange construction that he had been shown in 1747 as to ask about it from one missionary at his Court and to order another to have one erected immediately. Furthermore, the acceptance of Mr. Pope's suggestion would imply that a fountain design did not reach China until 1573 at the earliest, and that the numerous blue and white ewers decorated with that design, despite their Chia-ching reign mark of 1522-1566, could not have been made before the Wan-li period of 1573-1620. Would the student be safe in accepting such a novel hypothesis, with all its serious implications?

In the course of his excellent survey of the development of Chinese blue and white wares, the author observes that although the possibility of this or that specimen being datable to the period of the so-called Ceramic Interregnum in China, that is, the period 1435-1465, has already been discussed by recent writers, none has ventured to publish a description of an undoubted specimen (p. 103). Much in the understanding and evaluation of later fifteenth century blue and white depends on the characteristics of such hard-to-identify, unmarked pieces, for they form an important link in the chain of development. Mr. Pope himself fails to refer to any such specimen. Yet a blue and white bowl of the T'ien-shun period (1458-1464) and so marked was shown in New York in 1952, and this was illustrated and described (Pl. 4A, No. 37) in a sale catalogue entitled *Imperial Porcelains of the Ming Dynasty*, published by Mr. Mathias Komor, a well-known dealer in antiquities in that city.

Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine is, however, too important and too useful a work to be seriously affected by these and other minor lapses. It represents a definite and significant step forward in our study of the blue and white ceramic wares of China, and we shall await with interest further contributions from the same pen to a subject which the learned author may not improperly be said to have made his own.

SHEILA DAVID.

NOTES

OFFPRINTS OF ARTICLES AND REVIEWS

Contributors of articles to this Journal will in future receive gratis 25 offprints. Only on request will reviewers receive (3) offprints of their review.

THE KOREA BRANCH

We are glad to note the resumption of the issue of the Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society after a lapse of six years. Its Volume XXXIII contains a paper with illustrations by Mr. Wilbur Bacon on "Royal Tombs of the Yi Dynasty", one by Mr. G. M. Gompertz on "Father de Cespedes", and one (illustrated) by the late Dr. Helen B. Chaplin on "Kyongju, Ancient Capitol of Silla".

Institutions and learned Societies, to which copies of past Transactions were sent on exchange or otherwise, and any others interested should address Korea Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, c/o Office of the Military Attaché, British Embassy, 4 Chong Dong, Sudaemoon Ku, Seoul, Korea.

OBITUARY

ARTHUR CRISTOPHER MOULE

Arthur Cristopher Moule, who died at the age of 84 on 6th June, 1957, was the youngest son of George Evans Moule, Bishop in Mi-China. He was born on 18th May, 1873, at Hangchow, Marco Polo's Quinsai, to which he later devoted so much scholarship. He was educated at King's School, Canterbury, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where in spite of ill health he took a second class in the Classical Tripos in 1895. He worked for a time in the office of the architect Walter Shirley (afterwards Earl Ferres) and went out to China in 1898, where he was at first engaged on building churches. In 1904 he was ordained as a missionary of the S.P.G. and served in North China until returning to England in 1909. Thereafter he held a number of curacies and livings in England, being Vicar of Trumpington, near Cambridge, from 1918 to 1933.

Meanwhile he had established himself as a Chinese scholar by his studies on the early history of Christianity in China, notably in his book *Christians in China before the year 1550* (1930), which was awarded the Stanislas Julien Prize from the French Academy. In 1933 he was elected Professor of Chinese Language and History at Cambridge in succession to Herbert Allen Giles. In 1937 he was elected a fellow of Trinity College. He occupied the Chair until he reached the retiring age in 1938. Moule was the first holder of the Chair after its establishment on a fully-paid basis, by means of a grant from the Universities' China Committee.

In the thirties he collaborated with the late Paul Pelliot on the magnificent edition of Marco Polo, planned and financed by Sir Percival David. It was a grievous disappointment to him that only the first two volumes were published, and that since the war rising costs and other difficulties have prevented the completion of the project. Just before he died a volume entitled *Quinsai, with other Notes on Marco Polo* appeared, containing among other things material which would presumably have been included in the projected third volume. He also published another book, *The Rulers of China, 221 B.C. to A.D. 1949*, shortly before his death. During his lifetime he contributed numerous articles to learned periodicals, including the *JRAS*. He joined the Society in 1926 and was on the Council from 1934 to 1938.

E. G. PULLEYBLANK.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on 9th May, 1957, with the President (Sir Richard Winstedt) in the chair.

The following Report of Council, 1956-7, was laid before it and passed :—

Her Majesty the Queen has been graciously pleased to accept a copy of the Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists, submitted to her by Sir Ralph Turner, President of the Congress.

The Society regretted the loss through death of an Honorary Fellow, Professor Carl Brockelmann, and of Professor F. W. Thomas.

Four Members resigned : Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Professor A. Guillaume, Miss F. Morrison, and Mr. V. Rienaecker.

Professor J. Nemeth was elected an Honorary Fellow.

Thirty-three new Members were elected : Professor A. Belkhoja, Drs. P. Aalto, Badre-Hassan, A. H. Hill, P. S. Mookherji, and S. R. Nigam ; Rev. T. W. G. Hopper ; Commander H. S. May, Rao Sahib P. O. Matthai, Sri Rajendra Narayan Bidyabhusan Jyotiratna, Miss M. J. Garrett and Messrs. C. D. Arthur, K. S. Bailey, H. Ballantyne, S. M. Bhatnagar, B. C. Chaudhuri, H. Clayton, C. K. Ghosh, A. Godman, E. Gulbekian, V. P. Gupta, M. Freedman, S. N. Latif, P. S. Marshall, S. L. Lewis, G. A. Morris, J. C. M. Ogelsey, V. A. K. Pillai, M. Schnellling, Mhd. Afzal Shaikh, J. W. Spellman, Don Graham Stuart, and Zainal-'Abidin bin Badur.

Grants.—The Society gratefully acknowledged the following grants for the financial year ending 31st December, 1956 : £200 from the British Academy, £200 from the Government of India, £50 from the Government of Pakistan, £46 from the Federation of Malaya, £28 from Singapore, and £10 from Hong Kong.

It was indebted to the British Academy for £400 payable from the Nuffield Trust for the enlargement of its *Journal*.

Lectures.—Professor W. Perceval Yetts lectured on "Famous Chinese Bronzes" ; Dr. D. S. Rice on "The Dark Ages of Islamic Painting" ; Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales on "An early Buddhist Civilisation in Eastern Siam" ; Dr. I. Gershevitch on "Travels in Bashkardia" ; Dr. A. H. Hill on "The Malay Kēris" ; Dr. J. D. M. Derrett on "The Codification of Hindu Law" ; Professor E. G. Pulleyblank on "Chinese Slavery".

Professor E. Robertson lectured on "The Ancient Scroll of the Samaritans" for the centenary of the birth of Dr. Moses Gaster.

Gifts.—The Society was indebted to Sir Eric Miller for the gift of a Sanskrit MS., Chinese books and d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale* (1776); to Sir Walter Gurner for "Extracts of a Journal of a voyage to the East Indies and return to England (1817-18) in a merchant ship of the H.E.I.C."; to Brigadier Haycraft for books; to Sir Richard Winstedt for a complete Malay MS. of the *Hikayat Iskandar Dhu'l-Karnain*, and to Mr. H. Bowen for having a Turkish MS. bound. The Society has been informed that it is a beneficiary under the will of the late Mr. W. H. Moreland.

Publications.—The Forlong Fund defrayed the cost of publishing a *Bibliography of Arms and Armour in Islam*, by Professor K. A. C. Creswell. *A History of Persia, 1472-1490*, by Professor V. Minorsky, is in the press and will appear as a Monograph. The Society published the Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists, edited by Mr. D. Sinor, of which Her Majesty the Queen was graciously pleased to accept a copy.

Universities Prize Essay.—The prize was awarded to Mr. G. R. G. Hambly of King's College, Cambridge, for an essay on "The Mughal wars of succession, 1657 to 1661, and the ascendancy of Aurangzeb".

Editorial Committee.—Professor J. Brough and A. S. Tritton were elected Members.

Miscellaneous.—The Society accepted with much regret the resignation of Miss M. E. Fell, the Assistant Librarian. Miss B. V. Nielsen was appointed in her place.

The Council passed a vote of thanks to Mr. D. Sinor for his service to the Society as Secretary to the Congress of the British Association of Orientalists.

Mr. V. C. Trivedi was co-opted to the Council on the nomination of the High Commissioner for India.

Officers.—The Council recommended the election of the following as members of Council:—

Dr. A. L. Basham, B.A., Ph.D., Professor A. F. L. Beeston, M.A., D.Ph., and Professor E. Robertson, M.A., B.D., D.Litt., and for re-election the outgoing Honorary Officers.

THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Fellows	418	19	0			
Non-Resident Members	321	0	0			
Students and Miscellaneous	33	2	2			
Compounders	11	17	2	784	18	4
	<hr/>					
GRANTS—						
British Academy	200	0	0			
" " Nuffield Trust	400	0	0			
Government of India	200	0	0			
" " Pakistan	50	0	0			
" " Malaya	46	0	0			
" " Singapore	28	0	0			
" " Hong Kong	10	0	0	934	0	0
	<hr/>					
RENTS				1,008	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	714	13	11			
Sales of copies and offprints	172	15	6	887	9	5
	<hr/>					
INTEREST ON INVESTMENTS				592	14	3
REBATE ON COVENANTED SUBSCRIPTIONS				121	6	4
INTEREST ON POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT				13	0	0
ROYALTIES				14	9	0
SALE OF CATALOGUE				9	9	0
SALE OF "OR. MSS. COLLECTIONS" by J. D. Pearson				11	1	6
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				111	2	11
BALANCE ON 31.12.1955				1,445	3	5
	<hr/>					
				£5,932	14	2

GENERAL ACCOUNT INVESTMENTS

£777 1s. 1d. 4% Funding Loan 1960-90.
 £2,396 5s. 3d. 3% Funding Loan 1959-69.
 £4,453 17s. 4d. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968-73.
 £5,000 British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968-73.
 £1,162 17s. 5d. 3½% War Loan.
 £1,149 3s. 11d. 3% Savings Bonds 1965-75.
 £546 6s. 9d. 2½% Funding Stock

COMPOUNDED SUBSCRIPTIONS ACCOUNT INVESTMENT

£924 13s. 2½% Funding Loan 1956-61.
 £998 11s. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1978-88.

PAYMENTS FOR 1956

PAYMENTS

HOUSE ACCOUNT—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rent and Taxes	350	0	0			
Rates on Flats	147	16	6			
Water Rates	51	5	7			
Gas and Light	192	5	0			
Coal and Coke	165	19	6			
Telephone	24	2	3			
Cleaning	31	0	0			
Insurance	111	8	3			
Repairs and Renewals	165	19	11	1,239	17	0

SALARIES AND WAGES	1,697	6	7
PRINTING AND STATIONERY	84	11	7

JOURNAL ACCOUNT—

Printing	624	16	9
Postage	15	9	4

LIBRARY EXPENDITURE	41	2	11
GENERAL POSTAGE	52	13	11

SUNDRY EXPENSES—

Teas	49	11	6
Lectures	30	10	6
National Health and Insurance	58	6	7
General	152	7	1
Fee for Income-Tax Claim	26	5	0
Audit Fee	5	5	0

PURCHASE OF £546 6 9 2½% FUNDING STOCK	500	0	0
BALANCE ON 31.12.1956			

On Current Account	817	12	11
Cash in hand	3	12	7
„ „ Post Office Savings Bank	533	4	11

£5,932 14 2

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described and hereby certify the said Abstract to be in accordance therewith.

PRICE, WATERHOUSE & CO.

Professional Auditors.

3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

Countersigned { A. L. BASHAM, Auditor for the Council.
C. E. J. WHITTING, Auditor for the Society.

SPECIAL FUNDS, 1956

RECEIPTS		ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND		PAYMENTS	
		£	s. d.		£ s. d.
BALANCE, 1/1/56		32	0 10	BINDING 423, VOL. XXXV	70 10 0
SALES		221	13 11	TRANSPORT, ETC. OF VOL. XXXV	10 14 5
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT		2	0 4	SUNDRIES	8 3 7
				BALANCE, 31/12/56	166 7 1
		<u>£255</u>	<u>15 1</u>		<u>£255 15 1</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S MONOGRAPH FUND					
BALANCE, 1/1/56		312	3 7	SUNDRIES	12 1
SALES		26	17 4	BALANCE, 31/12/56	338 8 10
		<u>£339</u>	<u>0 11</u>		<u>£339 0 11</u>

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUNDS' BALANCES 31st DEC., 1956

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	166	7 1	CASH AT BANK—		
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S MONO- GRAPH FUND	338	8 10	On Current Account	444	13 11
	<u>£504</u>	<u>15 11</u>	On Deposit Account	60	0 0
				<u>£504</u>	<u>15 11</u>

TRUST FUNDS, 1956

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND					
BALANCE, 1/1/56		154	15 3	31/12/56 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
SALES		54	13 6	SUMMARY	227 8 9
DIVIDENDS		18	0 0		
		<u>£227</u>	<u>8 9</u>		<u>£227 8 9</u>

GOLD MEDAL FUND					
BALANCE, 1/1/56		48	2 11	GOLD MEDAL AWARD: W. P. YETTS	30 12 6
DIVIDENDS		9	15 0	31/12/56 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
		<u>£57</u>	<u>17 11</u>	SUMMARY	27 5 5
					<u>£57 17 11</u>

UNIVERSITIES' PRIZE ESSAY FUND					
BALANCE, 1/1/56		47	2 8	PRIZE	25 0 0
DIVIDENDS		24	14 7	PRINTING	3 4 6
		<u>£71</u>	<u>17 3</u>	31/12/56 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
				SUMMARY	43 12 9
					<u>£71 17 3</u>

DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT					
BALANCE, 1/1/56		365	18 6	SUNDRIES	1 1 0
DIVIDENDS		5	14 10	31/12/56 BALANCE CARRIED TO	
		<u>£371</u>	<u>13 4</u>	SUMMARY	370 12 4
					<u>£371 13 4</u>

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES, 1956

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	227	8	9	31/12/56 CASH AT BANK ON			
GOLD MEDAL FUND	27	5	5	CURRENT ACCOUNT	668	19	3
UNIVERSITIES' PRIZE ESSAY FUND	43	12	9				
DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT	370	12	4				
	<u>£668</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>3</u>		<u>£668</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>3</u>

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Prize Publication Fund) ("B" account).
 £325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Gold Medal Fund) ("A" account).
 £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).
 £40 3½% Conversion Loan (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).
 Rs. 12,000 3% Government of India Conversion Loan 1946 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).
 £229 10s. 9d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1965-75 (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1956

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
BALANCE 1/1/56	1 10 10	31/12/56 CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT	
INCOME TAX REBATE, 1954-55 AND		ACCOUNT	3 13 4
1955-56	1 5 6		
DIVIDENDS	17 0		
	<u>£3 13 4</u>		<u>£3 13 4</u>

INVESTMENT

£48 16s. 9d. 3% Funding Loan 1959-69

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1956

BALANCE, 1/1/56	1,090 10 7	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN	
SALES	63 10 6	STUDIES—	
DIVIDENDS	195 11 2	1 Scholarship	200 0 0
INCOME TAX REBATE, 1954-55 AND		3 Exhibitions	150 0 0
1955-56	24 4 8	PRINTING AND BINDING 500,	
BALANCE OF 1955 AWARD RETURNED	33 6 8	VOL. XXV	189 6 8
INTEREST ON P.O. SAVINGS BANK	10 12 6	COMMISSION ON SALES, 1955	7 11 0
		BALANCE—	
		CASH AT BANK IN	
		CURRENT ACCOUNT 434 9 5	
		CASH IN P.O. SAVINGS	
		BANK	436 9 0
			870 18 5
	<u>£1,417 16 1</u>		<u>£1,417 16 1</u>

FORLONG FUND INVESTMENTS

£2,017 11s. 3d. 3% Savings Bonds 1960-70.
 £1,217 2s. 8d. 3% Treasury Stock.
 £700 3½% Conversion Loan ("A" account).
 £253 18s. 4d. 3½% War Loan ("A" account).
 £1,051 8s. 7d. British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock, 1968-73.
 £923 7s. 7d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1965-75.
 £500 4% Defence Bonds.

We have examined the above Statements with the Books and Vouchers and hereby certify the same to be in accordance therewith. We have also had produced to us certificates in verification of the investments and Bank Balances.

PRICE, WATERHOUSE & CO.

Professional Auditors.

3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C.2.

Countersigned { A. L. BASHAM, Auditor for the Council.
 C. E. J. WHITTING, Auditor for the Society.

The following were recommended by the Council as Auditors :—

Professional : Messrs. Price Waterhouse and Co.

Honorary : Dr. A. L. Basham (for the Council) and C. E. J. Whitting, Esq. (for the Society).

The Society was again indebted to Messrs. Price Waterhouse and Co. for auditing its accounts and to Mr. D. H. Bramall, its Honorary Solicitor.

The Hon. Treasurer (Mr. C. C. Brown) said that several features in the accounts called for comment. The subscriptions from members fell some £171 below those of 1955 and £135 below those of 1954. With the changed political circumstances in Asia this might be inevitable but it called for a strenuous effort to recruit new members. Grants received this year were swollen by the second £400 received from the Nuffield Trust for the enlargement of the *Journal*. Rents were £35 higher than in 1955. And fortunately subscriptions for the *Journal* rose from £675 to £714, an increase that counterbalanced the fall in sales due to a lessening demand for and lessening stock of past *Journals*. Dividends from investments showed an increase of £125 over 1954 and of £62 over 1955. The rebate on covenanted subscriptions rose again, being £121 for one year.

On the expenditure side practically every item cost more, lighting, heat, insurance. Formidably high was the item £640 for one of the enlarged *Journals* against £764 for two in 1955, but the Nuffield grant would almost cover the extra cost of the enlarged *Journals*. The Society was lucky in having only a small bill for repairs to the premises. And rates on their flats were reduced by £30 a year.

In the event, after investing £500, the Society finished 1956 with a cash balance of £1,354, being only £90 less than the balance at the beginning of it. He felt sure members would consider this a most satisfactory financial year.

In moving the adoption of the Report Sir Walter Gurner touched on the salient features of the Council's report for the past year. In particular he congratulated Mr. Sinor the Honorary Secretary, on the completion of the harassing task of editing the report of the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge in 1954. The work was a worthy record of a conference for which Mr. Sinor himself had done so much. He was sure that he expressed the feelings of all members in thanking their

Secretary, Mrs. Davis, for her continued devotion to the affairs of the Society. He also referred to their regret at the retirement of Miss Fell after nine years' work as Assistant Librarian. They welcomed Miss Nielsen as her successor. Finally he drew attention to the increase in size of the *Journal* with the help of a grant of £400 from the Nuffield Fund.

Mr. M. S. H. Thompson seconded the motion.

The Report was passed unanimously.

The President (Sir Richard Winstedt) said that the Society had lost by death two distinguished Orientalists, one an honorary fellow, Professor Carl Brockelmann the Arabist, the other their old friend Professor F. W. Thomas who contributed many papers to the *Journal* and with Mr. Cowell edited Bana's *Harsacarita* in 1897 for the Oriental Translation Series, in which later he published three volumes of Tibetan texts and documents from Chinese Turkestan. In 1941 Professor Thomas received the Society's Gold Medal.

The Times printed a column to his memory and Dr. Barnett had contributed an obituary to our *Journal*. Professor Thomas was a contemporary at Trinity College, Cambridge, of a distinguished Malay scholar, Richard James Wilkinson, who first interested him (the President) in Oriental studies.

The Society had had a satisfactory financial year. It would be readily understood that expenses had doubled in twenty years. But it might surprise them to compare the Society's income of nearly £6,000 for last year with its income of nearly £3,000 for 1938 and the cash balance of £1,354 for 1956, with the cash balance of £122 in 1938. The increase in income was mainly due to the sale of the Grosvenor Street lease and in a lesser degree to increased sales of their *Journal*.

The figures showed that the Council had looked after the Society's interests well. A sentence members may hardly have noticed in the Report, namely that the Society is a beneficiary under the will of the late Mr. W. H. Moreland, meant that after its long enjoyment of royalties from the *History of India* written by Mr. Moreland and Sir Atul Chatterjee the sum the Society would receive under the former's will was likely to be about £2,000. Such generosity was rare in the annals of the Society, and he was suggesting to the Council that one of its rooms be named after this greatest of their benefactors.

This was the eighth year on which he had had the honour to

address them from the chair. And though he was a born sceptic, he believed that the Society had performed and was performing valuable work out of proportion to its means.

In their study of the humanities they might be old-fashioned and hardly perhaps sufficiently aware of the marvel that the study of Sanskrit survived while the study of Greek was declining. They were old-fashioned because they were more interested in grammar than in nuclear fission. And sometimes they were apt to be arrogant over what the scientist might regard as their unpractical lumber. At the scientist they looked with the awe felt by the Greeks for the Cyclops or the Minotaur. But for the popular author they reserved a condescending smile, despising his work for its lack of solid foundation beneath the graces of style. Humility better befitted the scholar. For his work was often concerned with the popular authors of the past. And the scholar, too, in due course was criticized and dethroned to make way for new discoveries and new theories. If his run was longer than that of more popular writers, it was probably because those interested to read and demolish his work were few.

Then again the scholar had reason for humility because the specialization of the present age must narrow his knowledge. Quite lately he happened to be listening to what would soon be the two-thirds programme on the radio, and was horrified to hear it laid down that a knowledge of grammar and arithmetic made an educated man. Although a grammarian himself, he switched off in disgust at such an arid conception of intellectual life. But though that view may have been a *reductio ad absurdum* of the equipment for the specialist, yet it did illustrate the intellectual loss every specialist had to suffer.

He had remarked that the scholar was apt to be condescending towards more popular writers. But it was to his credit that when Freud had dethroned reason and order in art, music, and letters, the scholar still had a tidy mind and knees too stiff to bow down to that meretricious idol, the unconscious.

He could not omit to draw attention to the devoted work of their Secretary. And they all regretted the departure of Miss Fell who had chosen a life in the country. They were, however, lucky to find a most suitable successor in Miss Nielsen.

The meeting ended with a vote of thanks to the President for his past and present services to the Society, proposed by Mr. Master, and carried unanimously.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE UNIVERSITIES' ESSAY PRIZE TO MR. G. R. G. HAMBLY

After the Anniversary Meeting, the President presented the Universities' Essay Prize to Mr. G. R. G. Hambly, of King's College, Cambridge, for his essay on "The Mughal wars of succession, 1657 to 1661." The President remarked that the winning of this prize twice by Mr. Hambly was a unique performance. He added that in the case of Mr. Hambly the object of the Indian chiefs who instituted the Prize was strikingly fulfilled. For he hoped to make the pursuit of Oriental studies his career.

LIDZBARSKI PRIZE ESSAY

The subject set by the International Committee for the Lidzbarski Prize Essay on "The Language and Literature of the alphabetical texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit" attracted no competitor. The Committee therefore decided to award the Gold Medal given on the occasion of the 24th International Congress of Orientalists at Munich once more to a distinguished Orientalist, and the choice fell on H. S. Nyberg, of Uppsala.

The theme for the next competition is "A work on one or more problems of comparative Semitic philology". The choice of subject is left to the competitors. The work should be submitted to the Office of the Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Muenster/Westfalen, Orientalisches Seminar der Universität, at least six months before the 25th International Congress of Orientalists opens at Leningrad in 1960. Manuscripts should be in English, French, or German. The prize again will be the Lidzbarski Gold Medal, which will be presented to the winner at the last session of the 25th International Congress of Orientalists.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

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Given by H. Rofé.
- Abdal-Razzāq al Has-ani. Ta'rikh al-sahāfa al 'Irāqiya. *Baghdad*, 1957.
From Maba'at al-zahrā.
- Abū Mansūr al-Yamanī. Kitab al-bayān li-mabāhith al-ikhwān.
Salamīya (Syria). *From Mustapha Ghālīb, Editor.*
- Ānis-a Mayy. 'A'isha Taimūr. *London*, 1957. *Given by H. Rofé.*
- Anwār al Sādat Qissat al thawra Kamila. *Cairo*, 1956.
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Conversations, 6th Impression; (3) The Yoga of Sri Aurobindo;
(4) Vyasa and Valmiki. *Pondicherry*, 1956.
(1) Poems from Bengali; (2) Songs of Vidyapati. *Pondicherry*,
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2nd ed. *Calcutta*, 1956.
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- Bastin, J. The Native Policies of Sir Stamford Raffles in Java and
Sumatra. *London*, 1957. *From Oxford University Press.*
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Luzac and Co., London, 1956. *From the Author.*
- Berthelot, A., L'Asie ancienne Centrale et Sud Orientale. *Paris*, 1930.
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- Beyer, Otley H. Philippine ... East Asian Archaeology ... *Manila*,
1948. *From R. O. Winstedt.*
- Bohdanowicz, A. La Horde d'Or, La Pologne et la Lithuanie (1242-
1430). *Presses Universitaires de France.* *From the Author.*

- Braun, M. Lebensbeschreibung des Despoten Stefan Larzarević.
Helsinki, 1956. *From Academia Scientiarum Fennica.*
- British Museum. Cat. of Muhammadan Coins, Vol. 2. By J. Walker.
London, 1956. *Presented by the Director.*
- Bruno, Arvid D. Das Buch Der Zwölf. *Stockholm*, 1957.
From Almqvist and Wiksell, Publishers.
- Buddhaghosa, B. The Path of Purification (Vissuddhimagga). *Colombo*, 1956.
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Calendar of Persian Correspondence, 1788-89. *New Delhi*, 1953.
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THE
CHARTER AND RULES
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland was established in March, 1823, and obtained a Royal Charter on 11th August, 1824, "for the investigation of subjects connected with and for the encouragement of science, literature, and the arts, in relation to Asia."

Under the terms of the Charter (of which a copy is appended) the Society is to consist of **Members** existing at the date of incorporation or thereafter appointed under such regulations, rules, or byelaws as may be formed or enacted, with a **Council of Management**, composed of a President, and not more than twenty-four and not less than five Members, to be elected by the Members of the Society.

The Members of the Society have power at **General Meetings**, to be held once a year or oftener, to make regulations, rules, or byelaws, and pass resolutions not inconsistent with the scope, true intent, and meaning of the Charter, respecting the affairs of the Society.

All questions at General Meetings or Meetings of Council are to be decided by **Majority of Votes**, the Chairman having a second or casting vote.

The following are the **Rules** made at a Special General Meeting of the Society on the 26th May, 1908, and revised on 9th December, 1948 :—

RULES

I. CONSTITUTION

1. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland is formed for the investigation and encouragement of science, literature, and the arts, in relation to Asia ; and no dividend, division, or bonus in money shall be made unto or between its Members.

2. The Society is and will be composed of persons who heretofore have been, and hereafter shall be, elected or admitted as Members of it under the Charter.

II. ELECTION, ADMISSION AND RESIGNATION OF MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES

3. (a) Members shall be divided into three classes :—

(1) Fellows resident in Great Britain or abroad.

(2) Non-resident Members who usually reside outside the London postal area, and have not a place of business within it.

(3) Honorary Fellows and Foreign Extraordinary Fellows admitted as hereinafter provided.

(b) Members in the first two classes are hereinafter designated Ordinary Members.

4. Any person desirous of becoming an Ordinary Member must be nominated by one Member and seconded by another, of whom one must act on a personal knowledge that the candidate is likely to be a suitable and useful Member ; and the nominating Member shall address the Secretary in writing and give the candidate's name, address, and occupation, or status, and shall state to which of the aforesaid classes the candidate desires to be admitted. Provided always that in the case of persons domiciled abroad, it shall be within the power of the Council on being satisfied as to the credentials of any particular candidate, to dispense with these conditions.

5. (a) The nomination shall be laid before the next Ordinary Meeting of Council held not less than seven days after the receipt thereof :—

(b) If the nomination be accepted by the Council, it shall be announced at the next Ordinary General Meeting of the Society, and a notice giving the particulars furnished by the nominating Member shall be posted in a conspicuous position in the Library of the Society, and shall remain so posted until the election or withdrawal of the candidate.

6. Any objection to a nomination shall be made in writing, duly signed, addressed to the Secretary ; such objection may be made

up to the time of election, and shall be laid by the Secretary before the Council at the earliest opportunity.

7. The decision of the Council on the claims of a candidate nominated for election as an Ordinary Member, and on any objection made thereto, and as to the class to which he should be admitted, shall be final.

8. The name of any candidate proposed for election as an Ordinary Member and approved by the Council shall be submitted for election at the next Ordinary General Meeting of the Society following after such approval by the Council and not less than fourteen days after the Meeting of the Society at which the nomination was announced under Rule 5.

9. Foreigners of eminent attainments, rank, or situation, or any persons who have rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society, may be admitted by the Council to be Honorary Fellows : provided that the total number of Honorary Fellows shall not at any time exceed thirty. Presidents of Branch and Associate Societies under rules 102 and 103 shall *ex officio* be additional Honorary Fellows for their year or years of office only.

10. Foreign potentates or distinguished officials of Oriental Powers may be admitted by the Council to be Foreign Extraordinary Fellows.

11. (a) An Honorary Fellow and a Foreign Extraordinary Member shall be entitled to all the privileges of an Ordinary Member, excepting that he shall not be eligible to be made a Member of the Council or to attend any Special General Meeting, and shall have no voice in the election of the Council or Office-bearers of the Society or in any matter affecting the property or financial concerns of the Society : provided that an Honorary Fellow who shall have been an Ordinary Member at the time of his selection to be an Honorary Fellow shall be entitled to the privileges of an Ordinary Member in all respects.

(b) The nomination required by Rule 4 shall not be requisite in the case of Honorary Fellows and Foreign Extraordinary Fellows, nor of Members of Branch and Associate Societies.

(c) The selection of Honorary Fellows shall in every case be made by ballot ; if there be more nominees than there are vacancies, the selection shall be determined by absolute majority of votes.

12. (a) Every newly elected Ordinary Member shall be promptly informed of his election, and of the category and class in which he has been placed, and he shall at the same time be furnished with a copy of these Rules, and with an Obligation form in Form A, hereinafter appended, which, when received back duly signed, shall be filed in a special register to be kept for that purpose.

(b) The admission of such Member shall not be complete unless and until the said Obligation form, duly signed, shall have been received by the Secretary, and until such Member shall have paid his annual subscription for the current year or compounded for the same as hereinafter provided, unless such payment or composition shall be waived or remitted pursuant to rule.

13. (a) To every newly selected Honorary Fellow or Foreign Extraordinary Fellow there shall be promptly sent a letter, signed by the Secretary, with a copy of these Rules, informing him of his selection and asking whether he is pleased to accept it.

(b) The admission of such Fellow shall be complete when he shall have accepted his selection ; and there shall then be sent to him a diploma, under the seal of the Society, signed by the President, the Director (if there be such), and the Secretary.

14. (a) Any Member may resign his membership by sending to the Secretary notice in writing to that effect.

(b) The resignation of a Member shall not take effect until he shall have discharged any sums or liabilities due by him to the Society pursuant to Rule 99 or otherwise, unless the same shall be waived or remitted by the Council.

(c) If the resigning Member be a Member paying annual subscription, then further, unless his notice of resignation shall reach the Secretary before the 1st February of any year, he shall be liable for the subscription for that year.

15. Associates are persons, other than Members, who are admitted to certain of the privileges of the Society. They must be resident in the British Isles and are divided into two classes :—

(1) Library Associates who are entitled to use the Library and to borrow books on the same conditions as borrowing Members.

(2) Student Associates, who are entitled to use the Library but not to borrow books.

The Council shall have power to make regulations from time to time regarding the election of Associates and the conditions under which they shall be admitted to the above privileges.

The following Regulations were passed by Council on 12th April, 1934 :—

1. *Library Associates.*—A candidate for admission as a Library Associate must be proposed and seconded by Members of the Society. A candidate so proposed and seconded may be admitted as an Associate by order of the Secretary, the name being referred to the Council at the next meeting.

2. *Student Associates.*—(a) A candidate for admission as a Student Associate must be not less than 15 years of age and must submit a certificate from a tutor or a senior member of some recognized Institution, stating that the Candidate is, from his personal knowledge, suitable for admission as a Student Associate. A Candidate fulfilling these qualifications may be

admitted as a Student Associate by order of the Secretary, the name being referred to the Council at the next meeting.

(b) At the expiration of four years from the date of his admission as a Student Associate he will cease to be entitled to the privileges as such. A Student Associate who is a Member of a University in the British Isles will cease to be entitled to these privileges one year after qualifying for a degree, provided that a Student Associate who is a Member of a University in the British Isles and who, after qualifying for a degree, proceeds to undertake a recognized course of further study, shall be allowed to retain the status of Student Associate until the expiration of one year from the completion of such course.

3. *Subscription.*—The first payment of subscription is due on admission, but if an Associate is elected in November or December of any year the first annual subscription shall cover the year beginning on the 1st January next after admission. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the 1st day of January of each year, and an Associate will not be entitled to the exercise of his privileges as such until his annual subscription has been paid.

III. SUBSCRIPTIONS

16. The annual subscriptions of Ordinary Members shall be as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Members resident in London and Fellows			
wherever resident	3	3	0
Members residing in the British Isles	2	2	0
Members residing abroad	1	10	0

The foregoing rates shall not apply to Members of the Society of Biblical Archæology who became Members of the Royal Asiatic Society on the terms specified in the fourth clause of the Agreement dated 8th October, 1918.

17. The Annual Subscription for Associates shall be as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Library Associates	1	10	0
Student Associates		10	6

18. (a) The Council shall have power to reduce, remit or postpone the payment of the subscription payable by any Ordinary Member whose circumstances render such a course necessary or desirable.

(b) When a person elected as a Fellow is a Minister of Religion or is engaged in teaching any of the subjects within the scope of the Society's objects or is an official in a Museum or Library, the subscription of £3 3s. may, in the discretion of the Council, be reduced to a minimum of £2 2s.

(c) A register shall be kept of those Fellows in whose favour such orders have been made ; the said register shall be laid before the Council each year at its Ordinary Meeting in October ; the Council shall thereupon reconsider each case therein entered, and may cancel

or otherwise alter the terms of any previous reduction ; and notice of any reduction made by the Council shall be sent within ten days thereof to the Fellow concerned.

19. An Ordinary Member may (a) compound for all future annual subscriptions by paying in lieu of all annual subscriptions one sum calculated according to the Member's age and category as follows :—

Under 40 years of age : Eleven times the annual subscriptions as laid down in Rule 16.

Between 40 and 60 years of age : Nine times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 16.

Over 60 years of age : Seven times the annual subscription as laid down in Rule 16.

(b) enter into a covenant to pay to the Society such annual sum and for such a period as the Council and the Ordinary Member may mutually agree, or

(c) comply with such other requirements as the Council may stipulate.

20. If a Fellow, who has not compounded for his subscriptions, shall desire to become a Non-resident Member, he shall, from the expiry of the year then current, and for as long as he continues to be such, cease to be a Fellow and pay the annual subscription of a Non-resident Member as laid down in Rule 16, or compound for it.

21. (a) If a Non-resident Member, becoming a Fellow, has not made any payment of composition in lieu of subscription, then, unless and until he shall compound for his subscriptions as a Fellow, he shall for as long as he continues to be a Fellow, pay the annual subscription of three guineas, from the beginning of the year then current if he has not already paid his non-resident subscription for that year, or from the beginning of the next year if he has already paid such subscription for the year then current.

(b) Should such a Fellow have compounded for his subscriptions as a Non-resident Member, then, from the beginning of the next year and for as long as he continues to be a Fellow, he shall pay an annual subscription equal to the difference between three guineas and the amount of annual subscription for which he had compounded, unless and until he shall compound for his subscriptions as a Fellow by making payment of such additional sum as shall, with the amount of composition already paid by him, make up the amount payable in accordance with Rule 19.

22. All payments made in composition shall be credited to capital, subject in each case to the deduction of an amount equivalent to one year's subscription, which shall be treated as revenue.

23. The first payment of subscription is due on election ; but

if a Member be elected in November or December of any year, the first annual subscription paid by him shall cover the year beginning on the 1st January next after his election.

24. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the first day of January of each year ; and if any Member fail to pay the annual subscription due by him before the end of that month the Secretary shall apply to the said Member for payment.

25. (a) If the subscription payable by any Member shall remain unpaid on the 31st March, all his privileges of membership shall be in abeyance until he shall have paid the amount due from him, and the Secretary shall promptly address him by letter informing him to that effect.

(b) If the subscription payable by any Member shall remain unpaid by the date of the Anniversary General Meeting, the Secretary shall address the Member by letter, and shall demand payment, and shall inform him that, if his subscription remain unpaid after the lapse of two months from the date of the said letter, his name will be posted as that of a defaulter.

(c) If the subscription so demanded be not paid within the time aforesaid, the name of the Member so addressed shall, subject to the orders of the Council, be posted in the Society's Library as that of a defaulter.

(d) Should the subscription remain unpaid on the 31st December following, the case shall then be laid before the Council, and, unless the Council shall otherwise decide, the defaulter shall cease to be a Member of the Society, and shall be so informed.

IV. THE COUNCIL

A.—Constitution and Election of the Council

26. At each Anniversary General Meeting the Society shall, subject to the following Rules, elect a Council to direct and manage the concerns of the Society for the period commencing with the day immediately after such Meeting, and ending with the day of the next such Meeting ; the term " year " in the ensuing Rules 27 to 34 inclusive and 46 signifies the aforesaid period.

27. The Council shall be elected from among the Ordinary Members of the Society and Honorary Fellows qualified in the manner indicated in Rule 11(a), and shall usually consist of a President, a Director, four Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Secretary, an Honorary Treasurer, an

Honorary Librarian, and Sixteen Ordinary Members : provided that :

(a) the office of Director may be left unfilled, and there may then be elected one more Vice-President, but so that the number of Vice-Presidents shall not exceed five ;—

(b) the office of one Vice-President may, if a Director is elected, be left unfilled ;—

(c) the office of Honorary Librarian may be combined with the office of Honorary Secretary ;—

(d) the number of the Council may be increased or diminished, but so that there shall not be more than twenty-four or less than five other Members besides the President ;—

(e) no one shall be appointed to be a Vice-President who has not already had not less than one year's service on the Council ;

(f) the Governments of India and Pakistan and the Secretary of State for the Colonies may be invited to nominate one Member of Council each.

28. If any vacancy on the Council or in any office on the Council shall occur in the course of any year, the Council may appoint one of its number or any other eligible Member of the Society to perform the duties of such office or otherwise act in such vacancy for the remainder of such year.

29. The President and the Director shall each be appointed to hold office for three years from the date of his election, and shall be elected under Rule 26 only on any occasion when a vacancy occurs ; a retiring President or Director shall not be eligible for immediate re-election to the same office.

30. The senior Vice-President in order of longest continuous service as such, and having had not less than four years' service as Vice-President, shall retire, and shall not be eligible for re-election as Vice-President until not less than one year shall have expired between his retirement and such re-election, but shall be eligible for immediate re-election to the Council in any other capacity ; if there shall be two or more Vice-Presidents with equal periods of longest continuous service, it shall be decided by mutual consent or by drawing lots which of them shall retire.

31. The Honorary Secretary, the Honorary Treasurer, and the Honorary Librarian, shall be eligible for re-election to these offices respectively from year to year ; if not so re-elected, a retiring Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, or Honorary Librarian shall be eligible for immediate re-election to the Council or any other capacity.

32. An Ordinary Member of Council who shall have had four years' continuous service on the Council shall retire, and shall not be eligible for re-election to the Council, unless elected President or Director or Vice-President, until not less than one year shall have expired between his retirement and such re-election.

33. The period of continuous service of a Vice-President and of an Ordinary Member of Council shall be reckoned from the date of his first election to the Council as Vice-President or as Ordinary Member, respectively ; provided that, if any Vice-President or Ordinary Member shall have retired and been re-elected after an interval of not less than a year, the period of continuous service shall be reckoned from the date of such re-election.

34. At the Ordinary meeting of Council held in February, there shall be prepared a list, which—

(a) shall show the names of all persons then being Members of the Council, and the particular position on the Council held by each of them ;—

(b) shall indicate those Members of the Council who are not eligible for re-election at the next Anniversary General Meeting, and shall make clear the reason for each of the entries so made ;—

(c) shall show any impending vacancies on the Council created by resignation or any other cause ;—

(d) shall present the recommendations of the Council for constituting the number and personnel of the Council and for filling the offices on it, for the ensuing year.

35. Not later than the 20th day of March, a copy of the said list prepared under Rule 34 shall be sent to every Ordinary Member of the Society and to every Honorary Member qualified in the manner indicated in Rule 11(a), having an address in Great Britain or Ireland, together with a notice that every such Member is entitled, subject to the provisions of Rules 29 to 32, to nominate any Ordinary Member of the Society or any Honorary Fellow eligible under Rule 11(a), other than himself, for election to any position on the Council, by a written communication, signed by himself, and by a seconder who is a duly qualified Member of the Society, and accompanied by a written statement, signed by the nominee, expressing willingness to act if elected, which must reach the Secretary not later than the 4th April.

36. The list prepared under Rule 34, and any nominations received under Rule 35, shall be laid before the Council at its Ordinary Meeting in April, and the Council may then modify any of the previous recommendations made by it under Rule 34 ; and a revised list, showing the final recommendations of the Council and showing separately, as

contingent amendments, any valid nominations received under Rule 35 which are not incorporated in the proposals made by the Council, shall be prepared for submission to the Anniversary General Meeting.

37. A copy of the revised list prepared under the preceding Rule shall be sent with each notice of the Anniversary General Meeting.

38. (a) At the Anniversary General Meeting, the list of recommendations made by the Council shall first be put to the Meeting as a whole, and, if it is carried, the contingent amendments, if any, shall not be put.

(b) If such list shall not be so carried, it shall be in the discretion of the Chairman to put the recommendations of the Council and any of the said amendments in several parts and in such order as to him shall seem appropriate ; and, if no candidate or candidates shall have been nominated under Rules 35 and 36 in excess of the number required for the particular office or offices to be filled, the candidate or candidates nominated to such office or offices shall be deemed elected ; otherwise, the election to such office or offices shall be determined by ballot, each Member present at the Meeting to be entitled to one vote in respect of each office to be filled.

B.—Meetings of the Council

39. An Ordinary meeting of Council shall be held not less seldom than once in every alternate month from October to June, both months included.

40. The President, or Director, or in the absence of both of them a Vice-President who is a Member of the Council, or in the absence of all of the preceding any three Members of the Council acting concurrently, may summon a Special Meeting of Council, by a circular notice which the Secretary shall prepare and send out on being required to do so.

41. At all Meetings of Council, any five Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum, and the chair shall be taken by the President, or in his absence by the Director, or, in the absence of both, by the senior Vice-President present, or, failing these, by the senior other Member present ; seniority being determined by the order of names in the official list of the Society, which shall be drawn up annually and kept by the Secretary.

42. Excepting in cases which are prescribed by these Rules to be determined by ballot, the decision of the Council on any matter shall be determined by vote by show of hands, unless in any particular case a ballot be demanded ; and in any case of equality of votes the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

V. OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

A.—Honorary Officers

43. *The President.*—The President shall have the general supervision of the affairs of the Society ; he will preside at Meetings of the Society and of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force.

44. *The Director.*—The Director shall have all the powers of the President, to be exercised in subordination to him, or independently in any case of emergency.

45. *Vice-Presidents who are Members of the Council.*—The Vice-President who is a member of the Council, with whom the Secretary can most expeditiously communicate, shall have power to act for the President or the Director in all cases of emergency.

46. *Honorary Vice-Presidents.*—(a) The Members assembled in Anniversary or other Special General Meeting may elect any Member who has for three years held the office of President, Director, Vice-President, Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, or Honorary Librarian, or who has as an ordinary Member of the Council for not less than three years rendered special service to the Society or to the cause of Oriental Research, to be an honorary Vice-President ; and anyone so elected shall continue to be an Honorary Vice-President so long as he continues to be a Member of the Society and is not re-elected to be a Member of the Council.

(b) An Honorary Vice-President shall not, as such, be a Member of the Council ; but he may be re-elected a Member of Council, and he shall, if so re-elected, cease to be an Honorary Vice-President.

47. *Honorary Secretary.*—(a) The Honorary Secretary shall be responsible for seeing that the minutes of proceedings of Meetings of Council and of the Society are duly recorded in the Minute-book, and shall be the general adviser of the Secretary in respect of secretarial work and the editing of the Society's Journal ; and, in the absence of the President, the Director, and the Vice-Presidents who are Members of the Council, he shall, subject to the control of the Council, direct the executive details of the Society's business.

(b) If at any time the Honorary Secretary holds also the office of Honorary Librarian, then he shall further discharge the duties defined in Rule 49 (a).

48. *Honorary Treasurer.*—The Honorary Treasurer shall supervise the collection of all money due to the Society, and shall see that every sum is duly paid to the Society's Bankers and entered in the Society's

Passbook ; he shall see that no bill exceeding the sum of five pounds shall be paid without the previous order of the Council, except in the circumstances defined in Rule 53 ; all cheques issued by the Society must be signed by him, or for him in his absence by a Member of the Council acting by direction of Council ; he shall supervise the keeping of the Society's accounts in the manner directed by the Council, and shall submit them to such Auditors as may from time to time be appointed ; and he shall prepare, for presentation at the Anniversary General Meeting, a report which shall show the general financial position of the Society for the preceding year, with the receipts and disbursements and the balances in hand, and which shall previously have been audited by the said Auditors.

49. *Honorary Librarian.*—(a) The Honorary Librarian shall have the charge and custody of all books, manuscripts, pictures, memorials, and other objects of learning, curiosity, or interest, of which the Society is or may become possessed ; keeping any of the same, when such an arrangement is practicable, in apartments, specially appropriated, in which such subjects can be safely deposited and preserved.

(b) If at any time the Honorary Librarian holds also the office of Honorary Secretary, then he shall further discharge the duties defined in Rule 47 (a).

(c) The Council may at any time appoint an Honorary Assistant Librarian, eligible for reappointment from year to year.

50. The better to keep in touch with Members of the Society and Members of Branch and Associate Societies resident abroad the Council shall elect annually one or more Ordinary Members resident abroad to be Honorary Corresponding Fellows, eligible for re-election from year to year but not ordinarily holding office for more than three years.

51. *Honorary Auditors.*—There shall be two Honorary Auditors, elected annually under the provisions of Rule 81.

52. *Honorary Solicitor.*—The Council may elect an Honorary Solicitor.

B.—Salaried Officers

53. *Secretary.*—The duties and functions of the Secretary, who shall also be the Librarian, shall be as follows : he shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council, and of Committees when required to do so, and record their proceedings ; he shall conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council ; he shall, subject to the direction and control of the Council, superintend the persons employed by the Society ; he shall superintend, under the direction and control of the Council, the expenditure of the Society ;

he shall be competent, on his own responsibility, to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the sum of five pounds shall, except in cases of urgency, be previously submitted to the Council, and shall, if passed, be paid by an order of the Council entered on the minutes ; he shall countersign all cheques issued by the Society, and he shall have the charge, under the direction and control of the Council, of editing the Journal of the Society, and of superintending the printing and publishing of it.

54. *Assistant Secretary*.—The Assistant Secretary shall act under the orders of the Secretary ; and, if at any time the latter shall be prevented by illness or other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Assistant Secretary shall act for him.

55. The Secretary and Assistant Secretary and the Assistant Librarian shall be elected by and shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

In the case of a prolonged absence of the Secretary or of the Assistant Secretary, the Council shall make such special arrangements for the discharge of the duties of the absent officer, and for the remuneration of the officiator or substitute, as may seem adequate and expedient.

56. *Auditor*.—There shall be elected annually a paid Auditor, to act in conjunction with the Honorary Auditors, under Rule 81.

VI. MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

57. The Meetings of the Society shall be termed General Meetings, and shall be convened by the President ; they shall be either (a) Ordinary General Meetings, (b) Special General Meetings, (c) Anniversary General Meetings, or (d) such Public General Meetings as may be summoned for any purpose connected with the Society not being such as may, according to these Rules, be considered only by a Special General Meeting.

58. At all Meetings of the Society, except the Anniversary and other Special General Meetings, each Member shall have the privilege of introducing one or more visitors, either personally or by card, subject to any special regulations which may be made by the Council as to the admission of visitors to any Meeting ; the name of any visitor or visitors shall be notified to the Chairman of the Meeting.

59. At all Meetings other than Special General Meetings, ten members shall form a quorum ; at Special General Meetings, twenty-one Members shall form a quorum.

60. The chair shall be taken by the President, or in his absence by the Director, or, in the absence of both, by a Vice-President, or, failing the latter, by some other Member of the Council.

61. Notice of every Meeting shall be sent to every Member of the Society entitled to attend that Meeting ; and, in the case of a Special General Meeting, not less than fourteen clear days' notice shall be given.

62. No proposal to alter, add to, or amend the Rules of the Society, or relating to the property or financial concerns of the Society or affecting its management or constitution save in the ordinary conduct of its affairs, shall be dealt with except at a Special General Meeting.

63. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority of the Members present and having the right to vote ; and in any case of equality of numbers the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

64. The minutes of the proceedings of each General Meeting shall be read at the next General Meeting, and, if accepted as correct, shall be signed by the Chairman, of that Meeting.

A.—Ordinary General Meetings

65. Except in May, an Ordinary General Meeting shall usually be held in each month from November to June, both months included, on the second Thursday of the month ; when that day is found inconvenient, the Meeting may be convened for such other day as shall be determined by the Council.

66. The course of the business shall be as follows :—

(a) The minutes of the last preceding General Meeting shall be read, and, if accepted as correct, shall be signed by the Chairman.

(b) There shall be announced (1) the name of any candidate for ordinary membership accepted by the Council under Rule 5 ; (2) the name of any person newly admitted to be an Honorary Fellow or a Foreign Extraordinary Fellow under Rules 9 and 10 ; (3) any provisional appointment to the Council under Rule 28.

(c) Any recommendations of the Council under Rule 8 for the election of new Ordinary Members shall be disposed of.

(d) Donations or presentations made to the Society shall be announced and, if practicable, laid before the meeting.

(e) Papers and other communications shall be read, and discussion may follow.

(f) Except by the special permission of the Chairman, no resolution other than a formal motion arising on the matters here mentioned shall be proposed.

B.—Special General Meetings

67. The President or the Council may at any time convene a Special General Meeting, to consider any matter which such a Meeting is authorized to deal with ; and such a Meeting shall at any time be

convened by the Council on a written requisition signed by ten Members of the Society, setting forth the proposal to be made or subject to be discussed.

68. The notice of a Special General Meeting shall contain a clear statement of the circumstances in which it is summoned, and of the proposals to be made or the matter to be discussed.

69. Proceedings shall be commenced by reading the notice convening the Meeting : the matter, proposal, or subject mentioned in the notice shall then be discussed and dealt with ; and no topic apart from, or not arising out of, such matter, proposal, or subject, shall be introduced, discussed, or dealt with.

70. If not less than one-third of the Members present and voting shall vote against any resolution, whether original or by amendment, other than one relating to matters under Rules 38 and 46, proposed at a Special General Meeting, such resolution shall, on the requisition of five or more Members forthwith made in writing to the Chairman, be referred for consideration and final disposal to a second Special General Meeting which shall be held not less than fourteen clear days and not more than thirty days after the date of the said Meeting.

C.—Anniversary General Meetings

71. On such day in May as may be fixed from time to time there shall be held an Anniversary General Meeting, which shall be considered to be a Special General Meeting ; but Rule 69 shall not apply thereto, and Rule 70 shall apply thereto only in the case of any matters under Rule 62 other than the annual election of the Council or in the case of any matter under Rule 107.

72. The following shall be the business :—

(a) The minutes of proceedings of the preceding Anniversary General Meeting shall be read.

(b) The Report of the Council and Auditors shall be read, and the acceptance of that Report shall be moved and seconded, and any recommendations made in it shall be considered and dealt with.

(c) The President shall, if he wish, deliver an Annual Address, or he may deliver the same at a Public General Meeting.

(d) The Meeting shall then make appointments to the Council, in the manner laid down in Part IV of these Rules.

(e) The Meeting shall then elect the Auditors for the ensuing year.

(f) The Meeting shall then dispose of any other business of which due notice shall have been given, or which shall be admitted by the Chairman as a matter of urgency.

D.—Public General Meetings

73. Public General Meetings of the Society may be held at such times and for such purposes as the Council may appoint, subject to the provisions hereinbefore contained.

VII. COMMITTEES

74. The Council shall, as it may deem advisable, appoint Members of the Society to form Standing Committees to advise in connection with Finance, the Library, and any other branches or departments of the Society's operations, and may, at its discretion, at any time alter or vary the numbers and the personnel of the Committees so appointed.

75. The Council may at any time appoint Members of the Society to be a Special Committee for the consideration of any matter or matters specifically stated in an order of reference, and the Special Committee so appointed shall report to the Council.

76. Standing Committees shall be convened by the Secretary, at the request of any Member thereof; in appointing a Special Committee, the Council shall name a Member of such Committee as the convener thereof.

77. The President, the Director, the Honorary Secretary, the Honorary Treasurer, and the Honorary Librarian shall *ex officio* be Members of all Committees.

78. Three Members of a Committee, whether Standing or Special, shall form a quorum.

79. The Members of any Committee, whether Standing or Special, may be authorized by the Council to consult any person being or not being a Member of the Society.

VIII. AUDIT

80. The Council shall cause proper accounts to be kept of the income and expenditure of the Society; and the accounts for the year ending on the 31st December shall be delivered before the end of February following to Auditors, to be examined, audited, and signed by them.

81. (a) There shall be three Auditors, of whom one shall be a Member of the Council other than the Honorary Treasurer, a second shall be an Ordinary Member of the Society not a Member of the Council, and the third shall be a Public Accountant not a Member of the Society; and all of them shall be elected annually at the Anniversary General Meeting.

(b) The outgoing Auditors shall be deemed to continue in office till the day after the Anniversary General Meeting, or, if from

any cause their successors shall not be elected at such Meeting, then till the election of their successors.

(c) An outgoing Auditor shall be eligible for re-election.

82. The accounts signed by the Auditors shall be printed and published in the Society's Journal.

IX. PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY

83. The proceedings or transactions of the Society, and papers, illustrations, notices of books, and any other notes, communicated to it and approved for publication, shall be published under the title of "The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland"; and the said Journal shall be edited by the Secretary in accordance with Rule 52.

84. The Council shall decide what papers shall be accepted for publication in the Journal, and may determine at what date they shall appear.

85. Every communication published in the Journal of the Society becomes so far the property of the Society that the author may not, save with the permission of the Council duly recorded, republish it until an interval of six months shall have elapsed after its publication by the Society.

86. Copies not exceeding twenty-five in number of any serially numbered article published in the Journal shall be presented gratis to the author of the article; and, if the author, at the time of forwarding to the Secretary his manuscript, or his last corrected proof if proof be sent to him, apply to the Secretary for an additional number of copies not exceeding twenty-five, the additional number applied for may be supplied to the author at cost price.

87. The Council is authorized to present copies of the Journal to learned Societies and distinguished persons; and it shall announce at Ordinary, Anniversary, and Public General Meetings presentations made under this Rule.

88. Every Member is entitled, as soon as he has signed and sent in his Obligation and has made his first payment of annual subscription or his payment of composition in lieu of subscription, to receive the parts or volumes of the Journal published subsequently to his election, and also any parts or volumes, previously published, of the year covered by such payment; and, if they be available, he may, by permission of the Council and at prices to be fixed by the Council, obtain any parts or volumes of the Journal issued prior to the year covered by such payment.

89. The parts of the Journal shall be forwarded post-free, as they are from time to time issued, to each Member at that address which

he has given in his Obligation, or which appears opposite his name in the list of Members last published in the Society's Journal ; and every Member shall be bound to notify to the Secretary from year to year in time for the annual revision of that list, any correction or alteration which he wishes to have made in his address : otherwise he shall have no remedy against the Society for recovery of any part or volume of the Journal which, having been dispatched to his then standing address, miscarries.

90. Except by a special order of the Council, the Journal or any part thereof shall not be supplied to any Member whose annual subscription is in arrears.

91. Any Member who has not received a copy of the Journal to which he is entitled can obtain the same gratis provided that he apply for it within six months of the first day of the quarter for which it has been issued, and that, if the address to which it has been forwarded is not his correct address, he had taken steps as required by Rule 89 to have his correct address entered in the published list of Members.

92. Any person not being a Member of the Society may become an annual subscriber to the Journal at a rate to be fixed by the Council from time to time, and shall be supplied with it if he pay that amount in advance before the 15th January.

X. THE LIBRARY

93. Save on Sundays and Bank Holidays, the Library shall be open daily from the 1st September to the 31st July for the use of members of the Society between the hours of eleven and five, except on Saturdays, when it shall close at one ; but the Council shall have power to close the Library on special occasions for cleaning, repairs, or any other purposes.

94. Any Fellow, who pays full annual subscription as such or who has paid the compounding fee in lieu thereof, and any non-resident Member, who shall elect to pay or compound for full annual subscription as a Fellow, and any Honorary Fellow qualified in the manner indicated in Rule 11(a) shall be entitled to borrow books from the Library, excepting such books as may be reserved by the Council for use in the Library itself. The above privilege is extended to any Non-Resident Member who, being resident in the British Isles, pays full annual subscription as such, together with such further annual subscription, not exceeding 5s., as the Council may from time to time determine. No one else shall be permitted to borrow any book or books from the Library except under a special order from the Council.

95. For every book borrowed a receipt shall be signed by the Member borrowing it, on a printed form provided for the purpose.

When books borrowed by Members are sent by post they may, at the discretion of the Librarian, be sent registered. All postage and such registration fees, above a figure to be fixed by the Council, shall be paid by the borrowing member.

96. A Member entitled to borrow books from the Library shall not have more than seven volumes on loan at any one time.

97. No book borrowed shall be retained for a longer period than one month, if the same be applied for by any other Member ; and in no case shall a book be retained for a longer period than six months.

98. The Council may grant, by special vote, on such terms as it thinks fit, the loan of MSS., or of books reserved for use in the Library, and may authorize the Secretary, as Librarian, to suspend, under special circumstances, the operation of Rules 96 and 97.

99. If anyone shall cause loss of, or damage to, any volume or other property of the Society, he shall make good the same ; and, if any Member shall fail to return any volume or other property of the Society within four months after application shall have been made to him for the return thereof, the said volume or other property shall be considered lost, and the Society shall be entitled to proceed for the recovery of its value.

XI. THE CHARTER, DEEDS, AND COMMON SEAL

100. The Charter and Deeds of the Society shall be kept in the custody of the Society's Bankers.

101. (a) The Common Seal of the Society shall be an elephant surmounted by a howdah and ridden by a mahout wielding an elephant-goad, with the inscription " Soc. Reg. As. Britt." below the elephant.

(b) The Common Seal shall be kept in a box or safe having two locks not capable of being opened by the same key or keys ; and of one lock the key or keys shall be kept by the Honorary Secretary, and of the other lock the key or keys shall be kept by the Secretary.

(c) The Common Seal shall be affixed to any deed or other writing only at a Meeting of the Council and by the authority of the Council ; and such deed or writing (except in the case of a diploma under Rule 13) shall then be signed by the President or other person presiding at the Meeting and by the Secretary, the particulars of the same being entered in the Minute-book.

XII. BRANCH AND ASSOCIATE SOCIETIES

102. Societies established for the same objects for which the Society was formed, may, on the recommendation of the Council, be admitted by a vote of a Special General Meeting to be Branch Societies of the Royal Asiatic Society.

103. Societies established for the same objects for which the Society was formed, may, on the recommendation of the Council, be admitted by vote of a Special General Meeting to be Associate Societies of the Royal Asiatic Society.

104. Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Branch and Associate Societies are entitled, while on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland, to the use of the Library as Non-resident Members, and to attend the Meetings of the Society other than Special General Meetings ; and in the case of any Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal or of any Branch Society aforesaid applying for election as a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, nomination as laid down in Rule 4 shall not be necessary.

XIII. MISCELLANEOUS

105. In all cases prescribed, reserved, or agreed to be determined by ballot, when a ballot results in an equality of votes and it is necessary to make an elimination of persons in respect of whom such equality exists, there shall be a second ballot confined to the names of those persons, and, if the votes shall again be equal, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

106. (a) If sufficient cause shall be shown and established, in the form of wilful and persistent disregard of the agreement made by signing the Obligation or otherwise implied to observe and comply with these Rules, or in any other form, the name of any person, against whom such cause shall be established, may be removed from the list of Members of the Society by the decision of a Special General Meeting at which the votes shall be taken by ballot ; and such person shall thereupon cease, subject to the provisions of Rule 70, to be a Member of the Society if the resolution be to that effect.

(b) The inquiry into any such matter shall be initiated by the Council, either of its own accord, or on a requisition signed by not less than three Members of the Society and sent or delivered to the Secretary.

(c) Before proceeding with the inquiry the Council shall cause

decision of the Council as to whether it shall or shall not be laid before a Special General Meeting shall be taken by ballot.

(e) Any person concerned in any such matter shall be entitled to be present with a friend, or to depute a friend to be present, and to state and argue his case, or to have it stated and argued by such friend, both before the Council and before the Special General Meeting.

107. Any notices required to be sent to any Member pursuant to any of these Rules, other than notice of the election or admission of such Member, shall be deemed duly given if sent by post by the Secretary to the last known address in Great Britain or Ireland of such Member ; and notices shall not require to be sent to any Member not having an address within the United Kingdom.

108. Words denoting the masculine in these Rules shall include the feminine.

109. The foregoing Rules shall come into operation at once, and shall supersede all previously existing Rules or Regulations, but not so as to prejudice during the current year, or for such longer time as may be applicable in any particular case, any special rights and privileges acquired in virtue of any payment already made to and accepted by the Society.

FORM A (SEE RULE 14)
OBLIGATION OF MEMBER

I have received a copy of the Rules of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, with a notice that I have been elected as an Ordinary Member of the said Society ; and I hereby agree to observe and comply with the said Rules, and any modified, altered, or amended form of them which may be hereafter adopted by the Society ; and I will promote the interests and welfare of the Society.

Signed.....

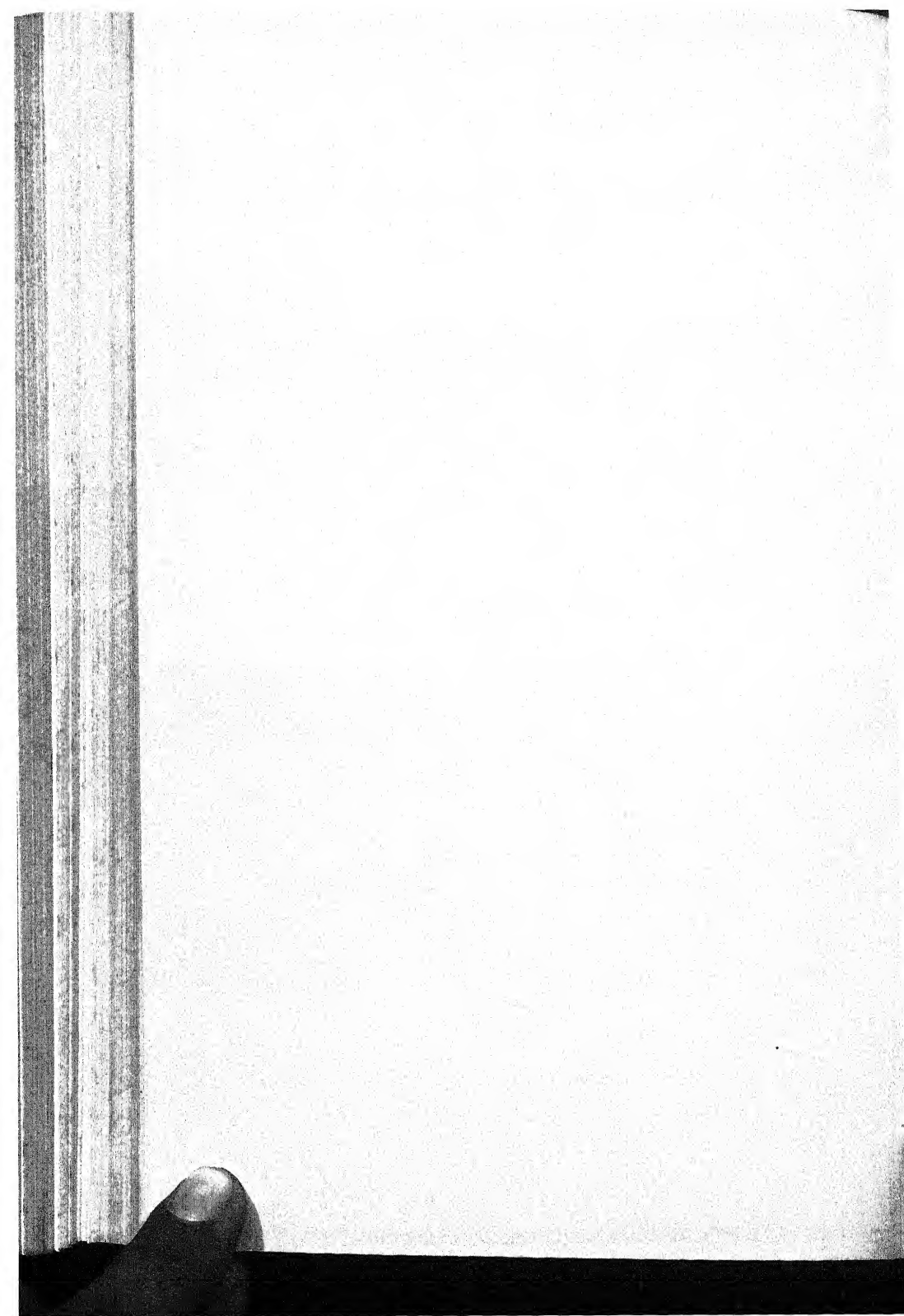
Dated.....

Address

.....

.....

[N.B.—The Member shall here fill in the address to which the Publications of the Society are to be sent for him. Attention is invited to Rules 89, 90, and 108.]



CHARTER OF INCORPORATION

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND

DATED 11 AUGUST, 1824

George the Fourth by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of Faith To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting

Whereas our Right Trusty and Wellbeloved Councillor Charles Watkin Williams Wynn and others of our loving subjects have under our Royal Patronage formed themselves into a Society for the investigation of subjects connected with and for the encouragement of science literature and the arts in relation to Asia called "The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" and we have been besought to grant to them and to those who shall hereafter become Members of the same Society our Royal Charter of Incorporation for the purposes aforesaid Now know ye that we being desirous of encouraging a design so laudable and salutary have of our especial grace certain knowledge and mere motion willed granted and declared And we do by these presents for us our heirs and successors will grant and declare that our said Right Trusty and Wellbeloved Councillor Charles Watkin Williams Wynn and such others of our loving subjects as have formed themselves into and are now Members of the said Society and all such other persons as shall hereafter become Members of the said Society according to such regulations or byelaws as shall be hereafter formed or enacted shall by virtue of these presents be the Members of and form one body politic and corporate by the name of "The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" by which name they shall have perpetual succession and a common seal with full power and authority to alter vary break and renew the same at their discretion and by the same name to sue and be sued implead and be impleaded and answer and be answered unto in every Court of us our heirs and successors and be for ever able and capable in the law to purchase receive possess and enjoy to them and their successors any goods and chattels whatsoever and also be able and capable in the law (notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain) to take purchase possess hold and enjoy to them and their successors a Hall or College and any messuages lands tenements or hereditaments whatsoever the yearly value of which including the site of the said Hall or College shall not exceed in the whole the sum of one thousand pounds computing the same respectively at the rack rent which might

have been had or gotten for the same respectively at the time of the purchase or acquisition thereof and to act in all the concerns of the said body politic and corporate for the purposes aforesaid as fully and effectually to all intents effects constructions and purposes whatsoever as any other of our liege subjects or any other body politic or corporate in our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland not being under any disability might do in their respective concerns And we do hereby grant our especial licence and authority unto all and every person and persons bodies politic and corporate (otherwise competent) to grant sell alien and convey in mortmain unto and to the use of the said Society and their successors any messuages lands tenements or hereditaments not exceeding such value as aforesaid And our will and pleasure is that our first Commissioner for the time being for the affairs of India shall be a Vice Patron of the said body politic and corporate And we further will grant and declare that there shall be a general meeting of the members of the said body politic and corporate to be held from time to time as hereinafter is mentioned and that there shall always be a Council to direct and manage the concerns of the said body politic and corporate and that the general meetings and the Council shall have the entire direction and management of the same in the manner and subject to the regulations hereinafter mentioned. But our will and pleasure is that at all general meetings and meetings of the Council the majority of the members present and having a right to vote thereat respectively shall decide upon the matters propounded at such meetings the person presiding therein having in case of an equality of numbers a second or casting vote And we do hereby also will grant and declare That the Council shall consist of a President and not more than twenty-four nor less than five other members to be elected out of the members of the said body politic and corporate and that the first members of the Council exclusive of the President shall be elected within six calendar months after the date of this our Charter And that the said Charles Watkin Williams Wynn shall be the first President of the said body politic and corporate And we do hereby further will grant and declare that it shall be lawful for the members of the said body politic and corporate hereby established to hold general meetings once in the year or oftener for the purposes hereinafter mentioned (that is to say) That the general meetings shall choose the President and other members of the Council That the general meetings shall make and establish such byelaws as they shall deem to be useful and necessary for the regulation of the said body politic and corporate for the election and admission of members for the management of the estates goods and business of the said body politic and corporate and for fixing and determining the manner of

electing the President and other members of the Council as also of electing and appointing such officers attendants and servants as shall be deemed necessary or useful for the said body politic and corporate and such byelaws from time to time shall or may alter vary or revoke and shall or may make such new and other byelaws as they shall think most useful and expedient so that the same be not repugnant to these presents or to the laws or statutes of this our Realm and shall or may also enter into any resolution and make any regulation respecting any of the affairs and concerns of the said body politic and corporate that shall be thought necessary and proper And we further will grant and declare that the Council shall have the sole management of the income and funds of the said body politic and corporate and also the entire management and superintendence of the all other affairs and concerns thereof and shall or may but not inconsistently with or contrary with the provisions of this our Charter or any existing byelaw or the laws or statutes of this our Realm do all such acts and deeds as shall appear to them necessary or essential to be done for the purpose of carrying into effect the objects and views of the same body politic and corporate And we further will grant and declare that the whole property of the said body politic and corporate shall be vested And we do hereby vest the same solely and absolutely in the Members thereof and that they shall have full power and authority to sell alienate charge or otherwise dispose of the same as they shall think proper but that no sale mortgage incumbrance or other dispositions of any messuages lands tenements or hereditaments belonging to the said body politic and corporate shall be made except with the approbation and concurrence of a general meeting And we lastly declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that no resolution or byelaw shall on any account or pretence whatsoever be made by the said body politic and corporate in opposition to the general scope true intent and meaning of this our Charter or the laws or statutes of our Realm and that if any such rule or byelaw shall be made the same shall be absolutely null and void to all intents effects constructions and purposes whatsoever In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent Witness ourself at our place at Westminster this eleventh day of August in the fifth years of our reign.

By Writ of Privy Seal

SCOTT.

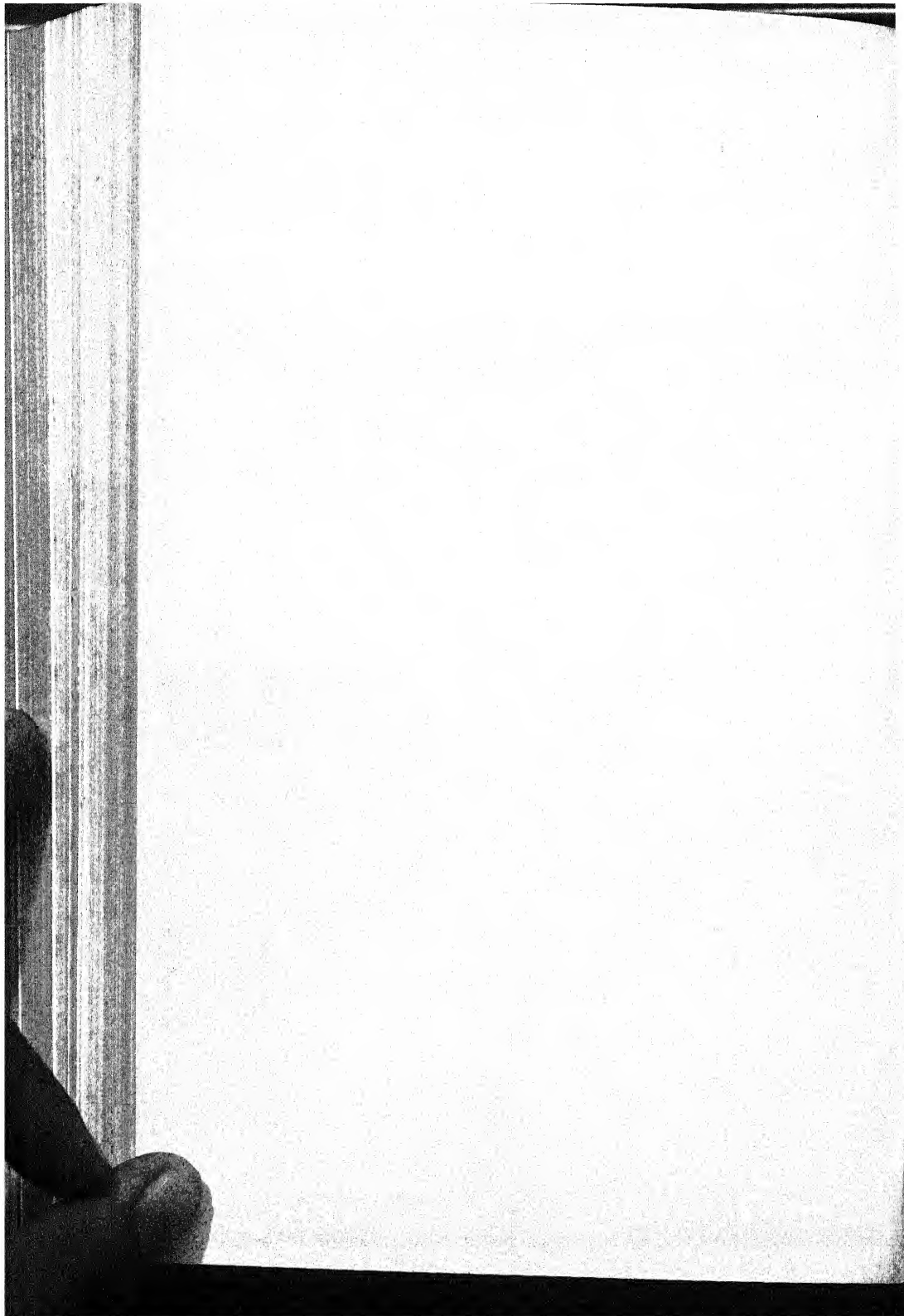
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